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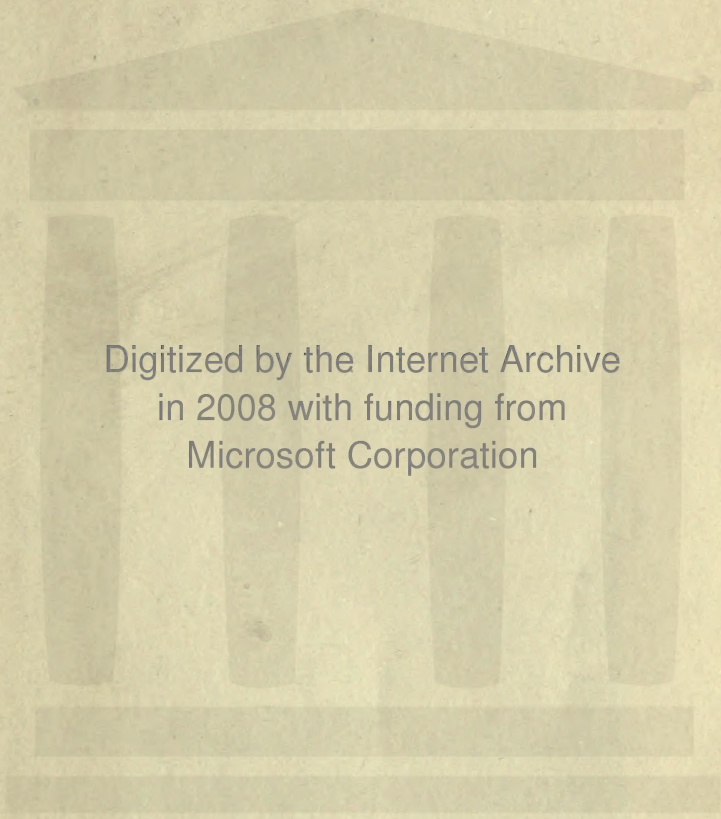
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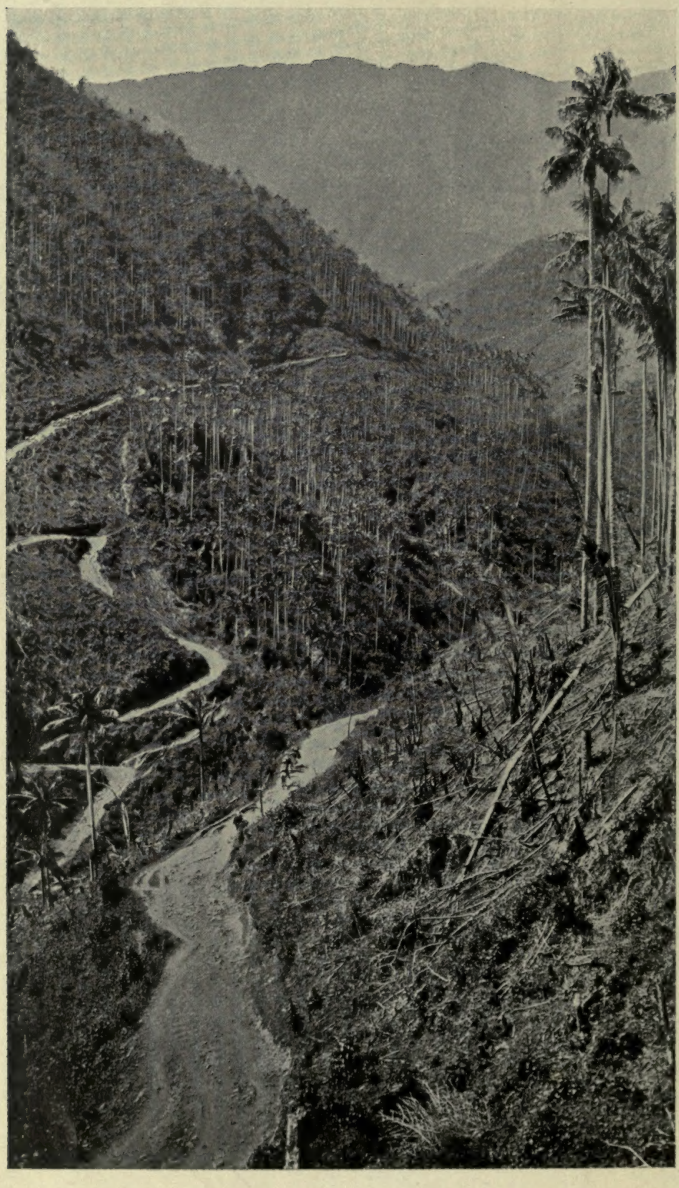

THE QUINDÍO.

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COLOMBIA

BY

PHANOR JAMES EDER

WITH 40 ILLUSTRATIONS AND 2 MAPS

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LONDON: ADELPHI TERRACE
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DEDICATED

TO

MY FATHER

A PIONEER OF PROGRESS

IN COLOMBIA

PREFACE

THOUGH, by virtue of the possession of literary abilities to which I can lay no claim, or by longer residence in that hospitable land, there are others better fitted to write on Colombia, yet I do not believe there is any foreigner who has had the opportunities that have been presented to me in the course of my practice for coming into such close touch with so many different spheres of activity in widely scattered parts of the country. United by ties of birth, family, friendships, and business relations to Colombia, and consequently appreciating, I hope, the native point of view, and at the same time being aware of the attitude of the Northerner, I felt that in undertaking this book for the South American Series I could render a double service—a service to the Colombians in sympathetically interpreting their country to the Anglo-Saxons, and a service to the English and American business man, interested actually or potentially in Colombia—in setting before him a true picture of what he wants to know.

If I have succeeded in keeping up to the high standard set by the authors of the other volumes in the South American Series and in presenting a true, fair, and sympathetic general picture of present-day commercial and industrial conditions in Colombia, I shall deem myself well rewarded for the time snatched from my professional and leisure hours. For there is so much extant in print that is utterly misleading, so much that is utterly untruthful,

and so little that strikes the just medium between glowing panegyrics that read like a promoter's prospectus on the one hand, and ignorant, unsympathetic abuse and the worthless impressionism of shallow journalists on the other. Colombia is neither a land where " gold grows on coffee-trees," where " children play with nuggets picked up on the streets," where " there are ready-made fortunes to be picked up for the asking " nor a country " reeking with disease " and " swarming with revolutionary bandits, swashbuckling generals, and reckless demagogues," as stock salesmen or embittered adventurers would have us believe.

The foreigners best qualified to speak usually remain silent. Mindful of the fact that it is in general presumptuous for a man to speak of a country not his own, and especially aware of the sensitiveness of the Latin American to criticism, realizing how irrevocable is the printed word, how deleterious to their own personal interests frank speech may be, how readily their motives may be questioned and their views misunderstood, they often lack the courage to step forward, the courage to make the mistakes of fact and of judgment that inevitably creep into any book, and the courage to expose themselves to attack and hostile criticism. And yet it is a burning necessity that peoples learn to know one other, and Colombia, perhaps above all Latin countries, has suffered from being misunderstood.

Colombia is not an *opera bouffe* country, nor a country all of jungles, fevers, wild beasts, and savage Indians, where one is exposed to death instanter. No, it is rather an ordinary flesh-and-blood country of happy and unhappy homes and families and of daily business routine. Here are people who work their plantations, who mine the bowels of the earth and wash the river sands, who hew down forests, who have their shops, who paint pictures, sing songs, make books,

publish newspapers, who are earnestly engaged in attempting to solve their political, economical, ecclesiastical, and other national problems, even as are the British, or the Americans, or the Canadians, or the French, or the Germans.

They may go to church more or to school less than other peoples, their population may be scanty, their science of government not perfected, their lower classes uneducated, but they are worthy of serious attention. They are not a nation of slaves. Here are free men striving along various lines for national improvement. There are earnest men, defenders of the old moralities and of the old beliefs, there are Conservatives, there are Radicals engrossed with the new ideas and the new hopes. Can it be fairly doubted that these descendants of that virile race of Spaniards who gave to humanity a New World, of those enlightened heroes of the Independence who, imbued with ideals of liberty and human rights, fought for their nation's sovereignty, will not work out their own salvation, will not finally succeed in swinging their nation fully into line in the grand march of the world?

But with such matters I have not concerned myself in this book. To present the national soul, the inmost spirit, of even a small population like Colombia's is a task requiring the perseverant labour, keen insight, and breadth of view of a gifted social philosopher. Neither have I attempted, discretion being the better part of bookmaking, to intrude upon the paths of science. Notwithstanding Colombia presents, scientific friends tell me, a splendid and almost virgin field for original exploration and investigation in natural history and anthropology, the scientist will find herein little if anything of interest, though I trust that the bibliographical material at least may prove of value to research workers. I have confined myself to the point of view of the mere business

man ; it is Colombia's present industrial and financial condition that I have primarily attempted to portray, with only such bare historical, political, and sociological material as was necessary to frame the picture.

I have tried to lay the facts fairly and candidly before the reader. In so doing, though I have as far as possible sunk my own personal views, I have been under the necessity of indulging at times in stricture of some things Colombian. In fact, I fear that, realizing my sympathy and friendly feeling for Colombia might tend to make me unduly indulgent, I may have occasionally gone too far towards the other extreme and unconsciously passed from criticism to censure. But I feel confident that my Colombian friends, knowing well my love for them and their country, will pardon any errors of judgment on my part and will appreciate that any criticisms made have been intended in the best of faith to be constructive and helpful. If I had attempted, on the other hand, to veil what seemed to me to be defects, such lack of sincerity would have been at once evident, and all hope that this book, by a sympathetic presentation to foreign readers, might redound to Colombia's good would be vain.

I think I recognize to the full the difficulty of the national problems the Colombian Government and the enlightened classes in Colombia have to contend with. Above all, perhaps, is the problem of carrying on the necessary governmental functions, to the extent nowadays required for speedy progress, with insufficient sources of revenue, and the difficulty of levying new forms of taxes which the people are not accustomed to.

Railroads and roads could be so easily built, new schools opened, agriculture officially encouraged, and its chief enemies, like the prevalent locust, checked, rich regions made sanitary and habitable, if there were only lots of money in hand to do the work

with ! And if foreign capital be sought, the grave problem arises how to obtain it without subjecting the country to the risk of an intolerable foreign domination. And social questions are no less hard : how to arouse the masses from the lethargy of ignorance and illiteracy ; how to free the Indians from the sullen fear, inherited from the Spanish days, of the priests and the governing classes ; how to civilize the savages within the country's borders. These and other serious problems, the delicate one, for instance, of how to maintain, in a strongly Catholic country, a just balance of power and influence between the ecclesiastical and the political authorities, between priests and citizens—all these problems call for constructive statesmanship of the highest order and for a rare spirit of co-operation. It is no wonder that the prevalent note of pessimism in the modern world finds strong echoes even in remote Colombia.

Few of our books evince even an inkling of appreciation of these besetting problems. The dearth of reliable books in English on the minor Spanish American countries is especially deplorable now that South America is on the eve of a great development. Colombia, as I have already indicated, has suffered much in this regard. Immediately after the Independence a number of interesting works were printed ; but interest in the country seems early to have lagged, and only at rare intervals were there any publications of merit in our language to record her progress through the course of the nineteenth century. In this connection, it may not be inopportune to sound a note of warning, at least touching Colombia, against the majority of general books on South America. It does not seem to matter much whether the author's general attitude be one of hostility to the Latin countries, as in Stephen Bonsall's *The American Mediterranean*, or of friend-

ship, as in H. W. Van Dyke's *Through South America*, to instance only the two latest publications that have come to my notice—in either case absurd errors of fact and historical mis-statements are apt to abound. Another recent book of a much more serious stamp, R. E. Speer's *South American Problems*, also does Colombia scant justice, indulges in equally unjustified slurs as does Bonsall's, and produces a false general impression : it contains, however, much truth and food for thought, and should be read by any one desiring to obtain an idea of South American education and religion as viewed from the Protestant Mission standpoint by a man of experience, evidently sincere, though naturally of a strong anti-Catholic bias. The matters that he treats of—religious questions—I have neither felt myself competent to discuss nor deemed within the legitimate scope of this book ; but it does seem to me that, even granting the truth of his premises, the conclusion he evidently draws, namely, that the solution in large part of these particular South American problems is an extended Protestant missionary movement, is without logical foundation, and equally without foundation in the results, utterly negligible either for good or ill, that have been heretofore obtained by the few Protestant missions that have been in Colombia. A broader, more modern, and more progressive outlook than the average village *cura* possesses is indeed needed, but it is not to be found in the narrow, shallow, illiberal mentalities that fill the ranks of the missionaries. Probably a little less of both priest and missionary, and a little more of the engineer, the doctor, the economist, and the scientist would enable us more surely to make a favourable prognosis.

I know of only two general books on Colombia published within recent years in the English tongue—Mr. Petre's *The Republic of Colombia*, which con-

tains much that is of value, and *Following the Conquistadores: Up the Orinoco and Down the Magdalena*, by the Catholic scholar who writes under the pseudonym of Dr. H. J. Mozans ; the exceptional opportunities for observation he seems to have had, his understanding of the Latin American, his extensive reading, intimate knowledge of history, and interest in the natural sciences, and the felicity of his style have produced a book of travel of unique charm. The ground covered by these two books, which are readily accessible, I have scarcely attempted to retrace, but, on the other hand, I have found two continental books of considerable assistance in the preparation of this volume—*La République de Colombie*, by the Colombian Consul at Brussels, Mr. Henri Jalhay, and Professor Fritz Regel's *Kolumbien*.

I am also indebted for occasional assistance and statistics to a host of friends and acquaintances, public and company officials, merchants, engineers, and travellers too numerous to mention. I must especially express my thanks to the members of my immediate family, and to my cousin, Dr. M. D. Eder ; to Mr. Francisco Escobar, the Consul-General of Colombia in this city, who has freely thrown open to me the resources of his office, and who collaborated with me in sending out a *questionnaire* to the 719 *alcaldes*, or mayors, in Colombia, to which we received many interesting replies supplementing the special reports which a number of the Departmental Governors were kind enough to send me ; and finally to Mr. Frank M. Chapman, of the American Museum of Natural History, who has kept me posted as to the explorations of himself and his staff in Colombia, and who generously placed at my disposal his excellent photographs. I am also indebted to Mr. Chapman for permission to reproduce the map of Western Colombia, facing page 208. This will serve

in a measure to correct the errors of the general map. Unfortunately, there is no thoroughly reliable map of the whole country to be had; the one here reproduced is about as good as any; one or two, in some respects better, have been published in Colombia, but they were either unsuitable or unavailable for the present publication.

PHANOR J. EDER.

NEW YORK,
March 30, 1913.

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(Stanford's Geographical Establishment)

COLOMBIA

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION—GEOGRAPHICAL OUTLINE

AT the very gates of the Panama Canal—lost to her by her own short-sightedness and the prompt but high-handed energy of the President of the United States, Colonel Roosevelt—lies a country of lofty mountains and snow-capped summits, of fertile, temperate valleys and plateaux, of riotously tropical coasts and lowlands, of extensive natural pastures and of thousands of miles of virgin forests ; a country rich with promise of vast mineral wealth, whose varied climate is capable of nurturing the vegetation of every zone, yet which lies fallow for lack of highways and railroads ; a country teeming with interest to the historian and the archæologist, possessing a literature and culture second to none in the New World, and whose capital proudly bears the title of the " Athens of South America," yet where the mass of the people are illiterate and in whose remote forests roam savage tribes who have never looked upon the face of the white man—in short, a country of boundless possibilities and of the strangest contrasts.

This is the Republic of Colombia.

A century ago, when she cast off the yoke of Spain, prophecy was made of the great achievements

for which this favoured land was destined : a thriving industrial development would provide employment for settlers from the outworn civilizations of Europe, and in this new lap of liberty humanity was to attain a new and higher civilization. Colombia was then the foremost nation of South America ; she was to become one of the great Powers of the world. These hopes have been shattered ; neglected by foreign capital and by foreign emigrants because of political instability, she has seen herself out-distanced by many of her sisters, her growth checked by want of men and money, and her territory encroached upon by foreign aggression. It is this tragedy of history revealed in the contrast between actual development, on the one hand, and former high hopes and still latent possibilities, on the other, that the reader will look upon in these pages.

In spite of the scepticism engendered by her past, clear-sighted men, with a colder and firmer grasp of realities than the former prophets, enthusiastically assert that Colombia is now entering on a new epoch, an era of peace and active development ; that her commerce and industries will expand as have those of Argentina and Mexico, and that in the second century of independent life she will gain that place in the family of nations to which her natural resources entitle her.

The Republic of Colombia occupies a large territory in the north-west portion of South America, and possesses the unique distinction, among the countries of that continent, of being washed by both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. It has a coast-line of about 465 miles on the latter and of about 640 miles on the Caribbean Sea. The figures can only be given approximately, as the boundary line with Panama, like parts of its boundaries with other neighbouring nations, Ecuador, Venezuela, and Peru, are in dispute. With Brazil alone, on the south-east,

and that by virtue of a recent treaty, has its boundary been determined.

Before treating more in detail of the various sections of the country and dwelling upon the anthropological results of its physical geography, a brief survey of the history of geographical exploration will be opportune.

The early Spanish *conquistadores* in their eager search for wealth, and particularly for El Dorado and the country of the Omaguas, and later in colonial times the Jesuit and other missionaries overran many parts of the land which long after remained unexplored, some, in fact, probably never again trod by white men. But the early explorers, in general, left no scientific records : there is one notable exception, however ; Pedro Cieza de Leon, a soldier of the earliest days, whose works, besides being an invaluable historical source, evince a truly scientific mind and contain a wealth of geographical detail to which but little amendment need be made even at this date. During the colonial epoch, the coasts were accurately charted and geographical knowledge must have proceeded apace in the interior, although few records have survived. In 1736 two scientists of the first rank, Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa,[1] on a royal mission (to co-operate with the French Academicians who were measuring the equator), travelled through the beaten paths of Colombia and left scholarly records of their work.

Later in the same century the noted botanist, Mutis, took up his residence in Bogotá and not only himself devoted years of arduous labour to natural science,

[1] These men were in no way related, but by a curious blunder often repeated, the surname Juan has been thought to be the Christian name John, and references are often found in English works to "the brothers John and Anthony Ulloa." Even Sir Clements R. Markham once inadvertently fell into this error (Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History*, vol. viii., p. 344).

but gathered around him a number of ardent and enthusiastic native disciples, chief among whom was Caldas. Mutis died at a ripe age in the midst of his labours : Caldas died a martyr to the cause of Independence, his promising career cut short, in the flower of his manhood, by the Spanish executioner. Neither of these men has received his due meed of praise, although they both powerfully advanced the cause of science.

Such was the contemporary fame of Mutis' work, that Humboldt is said to have visited Bogotá especially to view his collections. His valuable papers, kept in a Madrid library, not long ago were discovered to be a resting-place for cats ! Humboldt's voyage to the Equinoctial regions (1799-1803) marked the beginning of a new epoch in science and was a fitting opening to the nineteenth century, preeminently the century of scientific attainment. Two years were spent in Colombia, and his researches and those of his companion Bonpland, in all lines of geographical, botanical, zoological, anthropological, geological, meteorological, and astronomical investigations, have, as a whole, never been surpassed. One stands aghast at the comprehensiveness of his genius and his painstaking indefatigability. His visit stimulated the scientific ardour of the earnest band of Colombian students, and considerable geographical work was undertaken by them, but their labours were unfortunately cut short by the War for Independence. In compensation, the military operations of this war entailed a certain measure of geographical knowledge, and, furthermore, there was a great influx of foreign travellers when Independence was finally gained.

In modern times it is to foreign enterprise, rather than to the Colombians themselves, that we must look for exploration, though many of the latter have distinguished themselves in such work, notably

Mosquera, Codazzi (an Italian by birth, but in the Government service) and his companions and successors in the *Comision Corografica* (notably Ancizar and Perez), Reyes, Brisson, Vergara, etc., members of Boundary Survey Commissions and of the *Oficina de Longitudes*, to-day doing splendid work. Of the foreigners, the Germans have been in the van : Degenhardt, Sievers, Karsten, Hettner, Koch-Grunberg, and above all Reiss and Stubel, are especially worthy of mention. Among the French, Boussingault, Crevaux, who closely followed Reyes after his rediscovery of the Putumayo and descended by the Caqueta, Saffray, André, and the brothers Reclus are noteworthy ; the English (outside of railroad engineers) are confined almost to Simons and Robert Blake White, the latter of whom lived the greater part of his life in Colombia ; the Americans, to the Isthmian Canal investigators, prime among whom is Selfridge, the Pan-American Railway Commissioners, and, in very recent years, Dr. Hamilton Rice. A number of special biological or archæological expeditions have of course been sent out, both in Colombia and from England, France, Germany, and the United States. The American Museum of Natural History of New York, under the direction of Frank M. Chapman, has at the present time a number of men in the field, and is obtaining very important results, but there is still a vast amount of work open to the geographical explorer and the scientific collector in a great part of Colombia. The Western Cordillera, large portions of the Eastern range, the Chocó and Darien region, and the territory lying between the Amazon and Orinoco tributaries are all almost virgin fields.

The most prominent geographical feature of the country is the great Andean mountain system, which is here divided into three ranges or Cordilleras, united at the extreme south and known as the Western Cor-

dillera, running near the Pacific, the Central Cordillera, and the Eastern Cordillera.

These three ranges form the clue to the river system. A number of small rivers, of which the Mira, the Dagua, and the San Juan are the chief, rise in the Western Cordillera and flow into the Pacific. Between the Eastern and Central Cordilleras flows the Magdalena, the chief river and commercial highway of Colombia. Between the Central and Western Cordilleras flows the Cauca, an important tributary of the Magdalena, which joins it where the Central Cordillera dies out. Another important river flowing into the Atlantic is the Atrato, and of less consequence, the Leon, Sinu, and Rio de la Hacha. To the east of the Andes are extensive lowland plains through which flow many large rivers, tributaries either of the Orinoco or of the royal Amazon.

It will thus be seen that Colombia presents three main divisions for study : first, the coast regions ; second, the great Andean land, with its valleys, plateaux, and mountains, and third, the low-lying eastern territory, subdivided into a northern part of *llanos* or open wild pastures and a southern part of impenetrable forests, the *selvas*, sparsely populated, except by savages, and much of it still but imperfectly explored. It is in the coast and mountain lands that civilized Colombia lives, dwells, and has its being : here is the bulk of the population, the seat of government, of learning and of culture, of historical tradition and present industrial development.

In addition to the three Cordilleras mentioned there is in the northern part near the Caribbean Sea an interesting range of hills and mountains which is geographically independent of the Andes. The Andes run north and south : this range, which has its origin in Venezuela, runs east and west, forming, in Colombia, first the hills of the Goajira peninsula and then, divided from it by the Rio de la Hacha,

BRIDGE OVER THE MAGDALENA RIVER BETWEEN GIGANTE AND CARNICERIAS.

To face p 6.

the great mountain block known as the Sierra Nevada of Santa Marta, which gradually ascends till it reaches in several peaks the region of perpetual snow. Far to the south is a line of low hills, also geographically independent of the Andes, of more ancient formation and forming the dividing line between the Amazon and Orinoco watersheds, which vary the monotony of the immense oriental forests or *selvas*, but as to which there is but the scantiest information extant. These are known as the sierras de Padavida, Tunahi, and Cocuy. Other hills still further south are equally unexplored.

The mountain range which hugs the coast from the mouth of the San Juan river north to the Isthmus of Panama, known as the Serrania de Baudo, is placed by geographers as belonging not to the Andine system proper, but to the same range as the littoral mountains on the Caribbean and to the mountains of the West Indian Islands ; while the true Western Cordillera of the Andes lies a little to the east and separated from the Baudo mountains by the valleys of the Atrato and San Juan Rivers. These ranges offer an almost virgin field to the explorer ; a few of the principal summits have been scaled, but there are vast tracts of unexplored forest still inhabited by wild Indians.

The almost continual rains on the western or Pacific slope of the Western Cordillera cause a rich and luxuriant vegetation, while the eastern slope is in most places rather arid. At the extreme south, near the border of Ecuador, there are two twin peaks—*Chiles* (15,680 feet) and *Cumbal* (15,710 feet) —covered with perpetual snow ; the frontier with Ecuador passes through the former, which is notable also as forming the connecting link with the Central Cordillera. With these exceptions the height of the western range is in general between 6,000 feet and 12,000 feet, being broken, however, by one or two

passes, and especially by the remarkable valley of the Patia : this river is notable as the only river which has succeeded in forcing its way through the Andes to pour its waters into the Pacific Ocean : the river itself is at a level above the sea of little more than 1,200 feet, while the enormous mountain masses on either side of the valley tower thousands of feet above it.

The Central Cordillera is far the most important of the three, forming the very backbone of the country. Being easier of access and inhabited for centuries, it has been better explored than the western. Here no savages are left, and while a few Indian tribes have survived in almost pure blood in some remote villages, they all unquestionably recognize Colombian sovereignty and hold commercial intercourse with the whites. In the southern part, in the region of Pastò and Popayán, agriculture and native industry thrive. Pasto and Popayán, both on elevated plateaux, are towns of some importance. Both are in the centre of interesting mountain groups, belonging to one or the other range. Near Pasto there is a notable group of volcanoes and snow-clad mountains : near Popayán are the picturesque volcanoes of Puracé and Sotara—perpetually emitting smoky clouds from their snowy caps—a few leagues northward is one of the highest mountains in Colombia, Huila (17,700 feet), dominating the smiling Cauca Valley ; thence north, the dividing ridge maintains a fairly constant altitude of about 12,000 feet, with dense vegetation, on both sides, as here clouds furnish constant moisture ; the lower levels, bearing many a coffee plantation and grazing field, varied by occasional bare patches due to local climatic peculiarities, commercially form parts of the Cauca and Magdalena Valley regions. There are several passes, but through none have roads been built north of the pass near Popayán till we reach

the neighbourhood of the Quindiu : in recent years this road has been somewhat shortened by one or two *trochas* or private trails, constructed by individual initiative, but the bulk of travel and traffic between the Cauca and the Magdalena Valleys passes through the historic old Quindiu road, the old Spanish highway, which has had hard work in killing its reputation as a hard road to travel, to-day wholly undeserved. Inconveniences there still are, as almost everywhere in Colombia ; dangers there are none—and the inconveniences are more than compensated by the spectacular beauty and variety of the scenery, appealing to the lay traveller and of infinite interest to the scientist. The mighty Tolima,[1] monarch of the Colombian Andes, rising to an elevation of 18,400 feet, and its companions Ruiz or Herveo (18,300 feet) and Santa Isabel (16,700 feet), El Quindio and Santa Maria are all dazzling with perpetual snow. On the flanks of the Cordillera hereabout, the industrious sons of Antioquia have spread their little plantations, and grouped themselves around clean little towns with Oriental or biblical names—Armenia, Circasia, Nazareth, etc.

North of these giants of the Andes, the central range widens out to form the populated, mountainous region of Antioquia, noted for its mineral wealth. The capital of this department, Medellin, the second city of the Republic in importance, at an elevation of some 5,000 feet, is the centre of a thriving region, in many respects the most important, from a commercial standpoint, in the country.

A bit further to the north, the Cordillera terminates in a series of foot-hills, not far from Banco, where the Cauca River flows into the Magdalena at about 8° north latitude.

The Eastern Cordillera also separates itself from the general mountain mass near Pasto. Gigantic

[1] The Indian name Tolima means "land of ice."

tributaries of the Amazon and the Orinoco spring from its flanks, so that a favourably situated traveller on its summits might see to the west the valley of the Magdalena, to the east a boundless sea of either *llano* or illimitable Amazon forest.

The great silent forest which forms the heart of the South American Continent extends north in Colombia till it reaches a tributary of the Orinoco, the Guayabero. This river, in itself of little importance at the present time, forms the clearly defined boundary between the *selvas* or great wooded area of the Amazon rivers to the south and the natural pastures or *llanos*, watered by the Vichada, the more important Meta and the Apure to the north. These last-named rivers flow from the Andes to the Orinoco, and in the rainy season, with their tributaries overflowing their banks, give the *llanos*, which normally are of a resplendent waving green, the appearance in many places of a vast lake, with slightly more elevated bits of land serving as island oases, whereon, according to popular writers of a certain brand of fiction retailed as travel-books or geography, men, cattle, savage beasts from the forest and crocodiles from the turbulent waters struggle for a precarious foothold. In fact, these *llanos* are capable of supporting vast herds of cattle and may some day rival the *pampas* of Argentina.

The Amazon region, the territory of Caquetá, is totally undeveloped and but slightly explored, due in part to the scanty population of the southern part of the eastern range and the absence of roads communicating from the Magdalena Valley across the Cordillera. The *llanos* of San Martin and Casanare are in somewhat closer, though still pitiably infrequent and difficult communication with the rest of Colombia.

But to return to our mountains. The Cordillera Oriental contains many peaks of the first rank, the

Sierra Nevada de Chita and Cocui (16,800 feet) being especially noteworthy for its height and grandeur. From Pasto north to the great plateaux this eastern part of the Andes maintains an average height of more than 7,000 feet. About 3° north latitude it broadens out into the great table-land or savannah of Bogotá, the most densely populated, cultured, and prosperous region of Colombia. Here is the capital, Bogotá, and a score of smaller towns dot the plateau. Geographers divide the Eastern Cordillera into three zones : the tableland of Bogotá forms the heart of the central zone, which comprises a varied mass of mountain and tableland more than 150 miles broad and 300 long. The northern zone also contains important towns, Bucaramanga, Ocaña, and near the Venezuelan frontier, Cúcuta, all centres of coffee-raising regions, and finally dies out in the Goajira peninsula, after sending out an important fork which forms the mountain system of Venezuela.

It will be readily seen from the foregoing brief sketch of Colombia's topography how varied and imposing is its mountain system ; its importance can hardly be over-estimated. From whatever point of view we examine Colombia—be it scientific, historical, political, or economical, whether we are investigating the habits and customs of its people or its trade routes, markets, and industries—we find the mountains an ever-present, a predominant factor. Separating one part of the country from another, providing hitherto insuperable obstacles to the building of highways and railroads, they have helped to breed or to maintain local jealousies, fostered internal strife, hindered patriotic efforts for betterment, and in innumerable ways heretofore have proved an obstacle, for which their mineral wealth and scenic grandeur have given scanty compensation. The immense impenetrable tropical forests, stifling with heat and reeking in miasma, have been scarcely less

of an impediment. In the course of travel throughout Colombia, nevertheless, we see how the skill of the engineer is gradually overcoming these obstacles and opening ways to the many favoured regions, fertile open valleys and plateaux bathed in equable climate, which alike form the charm of the interior regions of Colombia and furnish the greatest promise of a prosperous, happy future.[1]

[1] The best general geography of Colombia is Regel: *Kolumbien* (Berlin, 1899). The most complete work in Spanish is F. J. Vergara Velasco's *Nueva Geografia* (Bogotá, 1901–2). A useful little compendium is Diaz Lemos' school geography (Barcelona, 1909). In English the best is contained in the translation of vol. xviii. of Reclus' *Geographie Universelle*, and in Keane's *South and Central America* (London, 1909), vol. i.

CHAPTER II

CONQUEST AND COLONIAL DAYS

ALTHOUGH Colombia derives its name from Columbus, the great admiral was not the first to visit its shores. This honour belongs to Alonso de Ojeda, who had accompanied Columbus on the latter's second voyage. Ambitious and high-spirited, he himself aspired to leadership, and, thanks to powerful connections at Court and among the Seville merchants, he succeeded in fitting out an expedition in 1499 : Juan de la Cosa, who had also been with Columbus on the second voyage, accompanied Ojeda as chief pilot, and Amerigo Vespucci, destined to give his name to the new continent, was also of the expedition. After a rapid voyage across the Atlantic, Ojeda arrived at the coast of what is now Guiana, and continued sailing to parts then still unvisited by Columbus : he entered the Gulf of Maracaibo, and from a fancied resemblance of the houses of the Indians, built up on piles in the water, to those of the Italian city, he called the region Venezuela, or little Venice. Proceeding still further along the coast, he rounded Cape de la Vela, thus being the first to touch what is now Colombian soil. The condition of his ships prevented further advances. This discovery of the Colombian coast on the Caribbean was completed in the following year by Juan de la Cosa and Rodrigo de Bastidas, in whose employ the former now was. Ojeda later

made several unsuccessful voyages, reducing his fortunes to a low ebb. Finally, however, King Ferdinand decided to found colonies on the coast of Tierra Firme, and Ojeda's friends put forward his claims : he was awarded a grant of the country from the Gulf of Urabá to the Cape de la Vela, under the name of Nueva Andalucia, while the region west and then north from the Gulf known as " Castilla de Oro " (Golden Castile) and comprising Panama and Central America was awarded to Diego de Nicuesa, an accomplished courtier of excellent connections.

Ojeda arrived at the harbour of Cartagena towards the end of 1509, intending to found a colony. He met a stout resistance from the Indians, who were neither abashed by the reading of the stately and formal proclamation, wherein he called upon them, in the name of the Pope and the Catholic King of Castile, to embrace Christianity and serve and obey the King, nor intimidated by the dire threats with which the proclamation wound up.

Among those who fell under the poisoned arrows of the Indians was the loyal veteran Juan de la Cosa, and Ojeda himself escaped in a manner little less than miraculous. The timely arrival of Nicuesa, who chivalrously forgave past grievances and lent assistance, enabled a due vengeance to be wreaked on the Indians ; but, realizing the difficulties of a colony at this place, Ojeda now resolved to follow the course advised by Juan de la Cosa, and settle at the Gulf of Urabá. There at a place which he called San Sebastian he founded his little colony : the hostility of the Indians kept the Spaniards entrenched within their fortress : hunger and disease supervened, their ranks were thinned, factions arose, expected aid from Santo Domingo failed to arrive, so Ojeda, with a small band, set sail for reinforcements, leaving the colony in command of Francisco Pizarro. Ojeda's

misfortunes redoubled : shipwrecked on the desolate coast of Cuba, the little band, through marshes, swamps, and morasses, pursued its painful way along the coast until finally succoured by charitable Indians, with whose aid he arrived at Jamaica and then passed on to Santo Domingo, " a needy man, shipwrecked in hope and fortune," and " sank into the obscurity which gathers round a ruined man, and died poor and broken in spirit." [1]

The aid that Ojeda had expected from Santo Domingo was from his friend and business associate in the enterprise, the bachelor Martin Fernandez de Enciso, who set sail, only to encounter at Cartagena the remnants of the colony which had been compelled to abandon San Sebastian. Nothing daunted, Enciso proceeded to that place, gaining a fruitless victory over Indians in the region of the Sinu River *en route*. A similar series of misfortunes to those which had befallen Ojeda induced him to remove to the River Darien or Atrato, where he conquered a prosperous Indian village and established his seat of government under the name of Santa Maria la Antigua de Darien ; but mutiny was rife ; a poor scapegrace of an adventurer, who had boarded Enciso's ship as a stowaway, gained the ascendancy. This was Vasco Nunez de Balboa, the discoverer of the Pacific Ocean (1513). The story of the discovery of the Pacific is too well known to need recounting here : how Balboa, fearing royal vengeance for past misdeeds, resolved upon making a bold play for pardon by penetrating to the vast Southern Sea, of which he had heard report among the Indians ; how his intrepid band, chosen from the boldest of his followers, attended by some friendly Indians, braved the dangers of the forests and of savage tribes, and struck across the Isthmus of Darien ; and how after great hardships he was rewarded, alone upon the summit of

[1] Washington Irving : *The Companions of Columbus.*

a high mountain, with the glorious spectacle of the boundless ocean.

This discovery opened up a new era of conquest, leading the way to the rich kingdom of the Incas.

Upon the arrival of the news in Spain, hundreds of enthusiastic cavaliers flocked to join the expedition under command of Pedro Arias Davila, who had been appointed Governor of Darien, and to whom was entrusted the promising enterprise of conquering the countries of whose vast wealth Balboa had heard ; but Pedrarias, to give him the name by which he is best known, did little worthy of note except perpetrate atrocities which made his name a synonym for cruelty. He soon evinced jealousy of Balboa—jealousy which grew to violent animosity and finally to the cruel execution of that brave spirit, on an unfounded charge of treason.

Other adventurers gained more honourable renown than Pedrarias. Andagoya sailed along the Pacific coast in 1522 as far south as Buenaventura, the port of good fortune ; but the great prize, the rich country of the South Seas, whose fame had tempted Balboa, fell to one of the sturdy band that had accompanied him—Francisco Pizarro.

So far the Spaniards had not succeeded in establishing any permanent settlements or making any noteworthy conquests in the interior of Colombia. With the founding of Santa Marta under Bastidas in 1525, an abiding foothold was gained by the Spaniards : Cartagena, still on the coast, soon followed (1533). In a few years these towns gained much importance, so much so that by 1536 the Spaniards, fired by the reports of a rich kingdom in the interior, the home of "El Dorado," and encouraged by the ease with which Pizarro had overcome the Peruvians, made their way up the Magdalena River. A numerous expedition set forth

SANTA MARTA.

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under command of Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada, a native, or at least a resident, of Granada ; obstacle after obstacle was overcome ; several boats were shipwrecked at the very start : famine and fevers decimated the troop ; hostile Indians unrelentingly killed and wounded man after man. While part of the expedition went up in boats, the remainder painfully followed on the shore, through swamps and through forests scarcely more passable than the interminable morasses themselves ; but the intrepid Quesada goaded on the fagged spirit of his men, sending the weakest back to the coast, till, utterly exhausted and as a last hope, he sent forward a reconnoitring expedition far from the river banks along the mountains of the Sierra Opon : these men, after days of painful march, encountered paths through the forest and signs of comparative civilization. Thus encouraged, Quesada's troop marched on : himself attacked by fever, and deserted without resources of any kind on a deathbed, only his own indomitable will pulled him through, to rejoin his faltering men and lead them to the densely populated and rich kingdom of the Chibchas. The Chibcha Indians occupied the healthful tableland or *sabana* of Bogotá ; here they had attained a civilization, inferior indeed to that of the Aztecs and the Incas, but which struck the Spaniards with surprise after their long wanderings through savage wilds and rugged mountains : agriculture and trade flourished ; closely built towns and villages with habitations and temples of no mean architecture dotted the plateau ; a well-developed religion, reflecting a high veneration for the powers of nature, helped to hold the thousands of Indians together under organized governments : moreover, gold and silver jewels and ornaments most skilfully worked were abundant—in short, before their eyes Quesada's men had the coveted prize for which they had risked so much.

The terror caused by their firearms, their strange appearance, their armour, their dogs, and their horses, gained the Spaniards their first victories ; though valiant resistance was soon offered, it was met by still more valiant and doughty feats of arms. The internal dissensions of the Indians, wars between the Chibchas and their less civilized but more warlike neighbours, were skilfully taken advantage of by Quesada : he pitted one against the other, and the conquest of the kingdom of the Chibchas was soon an accomplished fact—the handful of men had again achieved the impossible and repeated the exploits of Cortes and of Pizarro. The new region Quesada named, in honour of his native land, the Nuevo Reino de Granada—New Kingdom of Granada—and the city which he proceeded with due formality to establish he called Santa Fé de Bogotá. The foundation of the city was carried on with the utmost solemnity : Quesada marched thrice around the new city at the head of his men, and then solemnly proclaimed it a city dedicated to the service of the King (1538).

Strange reports of white men, Spaniards, approaching from the east and from the south well-nigh brought dismay to the newly established city : these intruders proved to be the troops of Federmann and Benalcazar. One of the most remarkable coincidences in history had brought these three conquerors, Quesada, Federmann, and Benalcazar, together, each, unknown to the others, starting hundreds, nay thousands, of miles from the others, marching for months and years through unexplored regions, to meet in the heart of this new land ! Benalcazar was a lieutenant of Pizarro ; after conquering the kingdom of Quito, he had continued his triumphant march north through Pasto, Popayán, and the rich valley of the Cauca and across the Andes. Federmann is one of the leading figures of the German occupa-

tion of Venezuela : [1] the Emperor Charles V, heavily indebted to the merchant princes Welz or Welser, had granted that country to connections of theirs, the Ehingers, who assigned the grant to the Welsers. Starting from Maracaibo, expeditions under George Hohermuth of Spires, known to the Spaniards as Jorge Spira, and Ehinger (Dalfinger) had explored much of the north-eastern part of the present Colombia. Federmann continuing further a few years later, after a journey extending over three years, arrived at the home of the Chibchas, with but 160 men left of his original 400.

An armed conflict for supremacy between these three *conquistadores* was narrowly averted : the more mercenary German was bought off, while Benalcazar and Quesada decided to set forth together for Spain to lay their respective claims before the King, leaving the government of the new kingdom in the hands of Quesada's brother, Hernan Perez de Quesada.

The subsequent history of these men, and the struggles of the budding colony, the further conquests over the Indians, the stubborn resistance of certain tribes, notably the Panches, the Pijaos, and the Muzos, as portrayed by the early writers, and the expeditions of other famous *conquistadores* throughout Colombia—Robledo, Cesar, Badillo, von Hutten, Pedro de Ursua—are full of romantic interest ; but these fascinating chronicles, though perhaps more interesting, are less important than the political development and economic history of the colony.

It is impossible in a few words to span the history

[1] For this interesting phase see especially Klunzinger : *Antheil des Deutschen an der Andeckung von Sud Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1857) ; Schumacker : *Die Unternehmungen der Augsburger Welser in Venezuela* (Hamburg, 1892); Topf : *Deutsche Statthalter und Konquistadoren in Venezuela* (Hamburg, 1893) ; Haebler : *Uberseeischen Unternehmungen der Welser* (Leipzig, 1903) ; Humbert : *L'occupation Allemande du Venezuela* (Bordeaux, 1905).

of two centuries of colonial life, with various modifications continually being introduced, some progressive, some retrograde, without indulging in the broadest generalizations and leaving aside qualifications and exceptions that would be obvious upon a closer study. This book is not the place to attempt a detailed examination, especially as the Spanish colonial system has been carefully and critically examined by many competent authorities. But some idea of the colonial *régime* is necessary for an understanding of the present-day Colombia.

The administration of the colony of New Granada, the mode of life of its inhabitants, Spaniards, creoles, negroes, and Indians, their education and religion, the methods and growth of trade and industry, did not differ essentially from those of the other Spanish colonies of the New World. A few local peculiarities crop up here and there : the names that fill the offices and play a rôle in their respective histories vary. New Granada's situation, however, combined with the restrictive commercial policy of Spain, gave it a certain historical importance which it would not intrinsically have possessed. Its rich coast towns offered a more tempting bait to hostile navies, as well as to pirates and buccaneers : trade for the entire continent of South America was concentrated by the Spanish system of restrictive fleets at Panama, Portobello, and Cartagena ; on its eastern *llanos*, watered by the Orinoco River and its tributaries, missions sprang up on a scale rivalled only in Paraguay : as a mining country it was second only to Peru and Mexico ; as an agricultural colony it was perhaps unsurpassed.

With exceptions of the class noted, however, the history of New Granada, with but a change of names and places, might be the history of almost any other Spanish colony in America. As has been justly observed by a learned German historian, Professor Konrad Haebler :

"From the position which the Spanish colonies held in relation to the mother country, it naturally follows that they possessed no independent history. Their history comprised the change of officials, the incidental alterations in their administrative organization, and the regulations for the furtherance of the economic interests instituted far more for the benefit of Spain than for that of the colonies. It was owing to Spain's dependence on them that they became involved in all the political complications of the mother country. The history of all that the colonies had to suffer as part of the Spanish kingdom at the hands of Spain's opponents is the nearest approach to a general history of the colonial empire." [1]

The administration and trade of these colonies from the beginning centred in Spain, and the same policy was pursued for all. In nearly every one we find almost the same story—the gradual conquest and total subjugation of the Indians, except in remote regions ; the introduction of negro slaves ; at first a period of badly organized government, with a bewildering confusion of authority among *consejos, audiencias, fiscales, visitadores, jueces de residencia,* succeeded by a period of more centralized authority under a president, captain-general, or viceroy, but still with an infinity of red tape and appeals to superior officials in Spain, and effective jurisdiction

[1] Vol. i., p. 414, Helmolt's *History of the World* (New York, 1902). For the analysis of the Spanish colonial system here presented I am indebted mainly to Haebler, to Professor Bernard Moses' *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America,* and to the chapters on that subject in Haring's *Buccaneers in the West Indies,* Roscher's *Kolonien* (tr. by Bourne, N.Y., 1904), and Hirst's *Argentina* (South American Series). For the particular history of the New Granada colony I have mainly followed Plaza, whose book, as well as that of Acosta, would well merit translation. Sir Clement R. Markham's *The Conquest of New Granada* (London and New York, 1912), just published, is the first attempt to present the English reader with a history of that subject.

"petering out" in the sparsely settled hinterland; conflicts, on the one hand, between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and on the other petty jealousies between creoles and Spaniards; the insistence upon false, but then universally believed, economic doctrines as to the necessity of hoarding the precious metals; restrictions on commerce, with the inevitable corollary—contraband trade, often connived at by the colonial officials themselves, which bred a certain disregard for law and authority that has left its fatal consequences to this day; the blight and stagnation caused by a fanatical and powerful Church; a lack of roads and bridges and public improvements in general, and a dearth of educational facilities, except those grudgingly afforded by the clergy, but shortly before the Independence, under the Bourbon kings, the prevalence of a somewhat more liberal and enlightened policy.

The main principle of the Spanish colonial *régime*, at least in the first century or two, from which most of its distinctive features sprang, was that the colonies were the personal appanage and exclusive private property of the crown. The marked characteristics resulting from this doctrine may be briefly summarized as follows: 1. The concentration of all political administration and commercial privileges in appointees or licensees of the crown. 2. The strict control over admission to the colonies. 3. The concentration of trade at a very few ports—in Spain, at first, at Seville alone; the institution of the fleets and galleons for carrying on the trade exclusively (with resulting high prices and contraband). 4. A protective attitude towards the Indians, resulting, in laudable contrast to their destruction in the English colonies in America, in the preservation of these wards of the State, and, to a considerable extent, their assimilation.

It is this last feature that constitutes the one great

virtue of the Spanish colonial system ; while, it is true, actual practice did not always come up to the high ideals of justice and fair dealing entertained by the Catholic kings, and the colonists often committed acts of cruelty (greatly exaggerated by most historians, however) towards the heathen, especially in the working of the mines, where hundreds met their death, nevertheless, the fact that the Indian race has here in South America survived as nowhere else, proves the merit of the Spanish treatment, while the force of the Spanish character is shown by the fact that such civilization as exists throughout the Spanish part of Latin America is essentially a Spanish civilization : languages, customs, education, religion, administration, are all Spanish, and that no matter whether the predominating element among the population be European, African, or Indian.

The protective attitude towards the Indians was the cause of the introduction of negro slaves : Las Casas, with his narrow philanthropic ideas, recommended their importation on a large scale as a means of freeing his own pet *protégés* from oppression. The colonies were greatly in need of labour which the Europeans either could not or would not supply ; the negroes throve in the congenial climate of the tropics, and as the supply produced by the " Asiento," the contract for the monopoly of the slave trade, was insufficient to meet the demand, a lucrative smuggling trade, by foreign shipowners, soon grew up in the community.

The individual history of the New Granada colony needs but few words. As commonly known or written, it contains little of importance apart from the general Spanish colonial *régime* of which we have just spoken. The vital part—the inevitable change in the character of the population, due to the influence of climate, etc., and cross-breeding, and the evolution of its savage tribes—has been ignored,

and consequently still presents an open field for the ethnologist and scientific historian.

As already mentioned, the first decades after the conquest were passed under a bewildering confusion of authority, civil and ecclesiastical. Official after official was not merely tried, but suspended by the special judges, called *jueces de residencia,* sent from abroad as investigators, and often invested with administrative functions as well. One of the most notorious of these *jueces de residencia* was the *visitador* Montaño, who came to Bogotá in 1552. Autocratic and revengeful, he initiated a period of black terror, and his avarice led him to pillage Indians and Spaniards alike. He, too, was *residenciado,* sent prisoner to Spain, condemned to death, and paid the penalty for his crimes.

The lamentable state of the colony's public affairs finally caused the crown to appoint a President of the Royal Chancellery, with the office of Governor and Captain-General of New Granada, absolutely independent of the viceroys of Peru and endowed with correspondingly large powers. Fortunately a good choice was made for this delicate post, in the person of Dr. Andres Diaz Venero de Leiva, a laborious official, prudent but firm, well educated and experienced in affairs, who arrived at Cartagena in 1563 and reached Bogotá the following year. His first measures were to lighten the burdens of the Indians, literally as well as figuratively, for among other reforms it was prohibited to use them as carriers : tribes were collected into towns, lands given them to cultivate as their own, under the name of *resguardos,* interpreters settled among them, schools and churches opened to teach them the elements of religion and the Spanish language, reading and writing, and a special *oidor,* or public attorney, was appointed to protect their rights. Venero also inaugurated various public improvements, pro-

mulgated ordinances for the better working of the mines, sent a commissioner to examine the famous emerald deposits of Muzo, and even gave the first impulse towards higher education by forwarding a petition for a university. It was not till the middle of the next century, however, that any advance was made in this direction, and then two universities, so called, were founded, one, St. Thomas, under the charge of the Dominicans, and the other, San Xavier, under the Jesuits. Even more important than these was the college of Nuestra Señora del Rosario (1653), which, in addition to the mediæval philosophy, taught law and medicine, "a first ray of light, dim as it was, in a dark atmosphere."

Another of the early governors worthy of honourable mention, in contrast to the run of avaricious officials whose main desire was to extort wealth enough to reimburse themselves for the price which they had generally paid for their offices, was the President Borja, who died in 1628, after maintaining peace and order during the twenty-two years of his incumbency.

The cities on the coast had a more troubled existence: they lived in constant dread of marauders from the sea. Santa Marta and Rio Hacha were sacked time and time again, while Cartagena and Portobello were ever coveted prizes. Sir Francis Drake, more than any other seaman of his day, inspired terror throughout the Spanish domain. In 1586 occurred his famous sack of Cartagena, where, in addition to all the booty, he obtained 110,000 ducats ransom under a threat to fire the town. Execrated as a bloody pirate and devilish monster by the Spaniards, he, too, has received his vindication at the hands of history, and his true place, as a discoverer and not a marauder, has been assigned to him.[1] It was in the next century, however, especi-

[1] See Lady Elliott Drake's *The Family and Heirs of Sir Francis Drake* (London, 1911).

ally after the French settlement of Hispaniola and the capture of Jamaica by the English, that privateers, buccaneers, and seamen frankly turned pirates, flourished in the West Indies, again and again attacking the towns of the Spanish Main. Their exploits teem with striking adventures—a veritable riot of blood and booty, greed and glory, which has furnished many a thrilling page for romancers, poets, and historians.[1] Their culminating exploits were the daring march of Sir Henry Morgan and his men across the isthmus to the capture of Panama (1688) and the participation of the buccaneers in the French attack and capture of Cartagena under Pointis in 1697, a fitting ending to the history of these bold bands, who, having served their ends, were thereafter suppressed by the French and English Governments. The easy victory obtained at Cartagena is partly explainable by the decay of the power of the civil and military authorities under the dominance of the officers of the Tribunal of the Inquisition, which had been established at the beginning of the century and rapidly grew to power. The sacking of the city proved a blessing in disguise, for with it began the decline of the much hated Tribunal.[2]

In 1718 New Granada was erected into a vice-

[1] The most valuable modern work on the buccaneers is C. H. Haring: *The Buccaneers in the West Indies in the Seventeenth Century* (London and N.Y., 1910), with an exhaustive bibliography. He omits, however, the South American historians, among whom may be mentioned Vicente Restrepo: *Invasiones de los bucaneros en el siglo XVII*, 1884. Acosta de Samper: *Los Piratas en Cartagena* (Bogotá, 1886); Melville: *Piratas que infestaron la America del Sur*, etc. (1567–1763), (Santiago, Chile, 1876), and one or two rare Spanish items (see Medina's *Biblioteca*, Nos. 724, 741).

[2] For the history of the Inquisition at Cartagena, see J. Toribio Medina: *Hist. del Tribunal de la Inquisicion de Cartagena* (Santiago, Chile, 1899), and H. C. Lea: *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* (London and N.Y., 1908). Petre's *on dit* that there were 400,000 victims is a rank absurdity.

HOUSE OF THE INQUISITION.

To face p. 26.

royalty for a few years only. In 1740, however, a Viceroy was again appointed, and the colony remained under this form of government until its independence. It had now gained a tolerable degree of material prosperity: European live stock and plants had been introduced in the earliest days, and agriculture had now attained a fairly high development. Cacao, tobacco, and hides, as well as the products of the forest, such as the balsam of Tolu and the still more famous Peruvian or Jesuits' bark, quinine, were exported in considerable quantities. But the principal industry was mining. New Granada was, during the century of which we are speaking, the chief gold-producing country of the Spanish domain, if not of the world.

And so the eighteenth century moved peacefully, sluggishly along.

One event stands out as of particular interest to the English—the ill-fated attempt of Admiral Vernon against Cartagena in 1741. His large naval force and an equally imposing army under General Wentworth arrived with the confident expectations of an easy victory over the town that had fallen a prey to Drake and the French. The city was assailed for several weeks; frustrated in their designs, the British forces were finally compelled to retire, and so ended the last attempt of the English to gain a foothold in this corner of South America. A previous attempt, of equally melancholy interest to the British historian, had been the Scots Colony established in 1698 by the brilliant William Paterson, founder of the Bank of England. His was a magnificent, far-sighted, and fore-sighted scheme. Had his plans been followed, "Darien might have been to Britain another India." Instead, the ill-suited settlers from the cold and sterile North not only met with the greatest hardships on the inhospitable shores of Darien, but the bitterest political feeling

and the most violent antagonism between Scotch and English was evoked at home. To protect the colony, over which the whole kingdom of Scotland had gone mad, the Scotch desired, the English declined, a war with Spain. A company had been formed under an Act of the Scottish Parliament, and five vessels with more than a thousand emigrants set sail, landing at Puerto Escoces on Caledonia Bay—the names survive to this day, melancholy reminders of a glorious dream. The small remnant of the colony that had alone been spared by the tropical fevers offered but slight resistance to a Spanish expedition sent to frustrate Paterson's ambitious designs to capture for Scotland the rich South Sea trade and the wealth of both the Indies.[1]

[1] The contemporary literature of the Scots Colony and Vernon's expedition was most abundant, and the subjects have not been neglected since. Among other books, see—

For the Scots Colony: Macaulay: *History of England*, ch. xxiv. ("brilliant account," but "incorrect and misleading"); Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. viii., ch. 84); *Life of W. Paterson*, by S. Banister (Edinburgh, 1858); Paterson's Works, ed. by S. Banister (London, 1859); *A Short Account from Darien* (Edinburgh, 1699); *A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien* (Edinburgh, 1699); *A Just and Modest Vindication of the Scots Design* (1699); *A Defence of the Scots abdicating Darien* (1700); *Certain Propositions Relating to the Scots Plantation* (Glasgow, 1700); *An Inquiry into the Cause of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony* (Glasgow, 1700); James Huston's Works. Francis Borland: *Memoirs of Darien* (1st ed., Glasgow, 1715, anon., reprinted under title *The History of Darien*, Glasgow, 1779; London, 1753); Barbour: *History of William Paterson and of the Darien Colony* (London, 1807); Sir Walter Scott: *Tales of a Grandfather*; Cullen: *Isthmus of Darien Ship Canal, with a History of the Scotch Colony* (2nd ed., 1853); B. Taylor in 19 *Scot. Rev.*, 54; H. Bingham in 3 *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, 210, 316, 437; J. H. Burton: *Darien Papers* (1849); Sir John Dalrymple: *Memoirs*, vol. i.

For Vernon's attack on Cartagena: A Geographical and Historical Description of the Principal Objects of the Present War, viz., Cartagena, etc. (London, 1741); *The Conduct of Admiral Vernon Examined and Vindicated* (1741); *An Account of the Expedition to Cartagena* (1743); *Authentic Papers Relating to the Expedition*, etc. (1744); Journals of the Expedition, etc. (1744); Original Papers relating to the Expe-

The defeat of Vernon had proved the efficiency and justified the cost of the massive fortifications at Cartagena, had given the inhabitants of New Granada and their governors renewed self-confidence, and once again left the country free for the development of its internal affairs. Under a somewhat more enlightened government, a fair measure of progress was achieved in the second half of the century: the restrictions on commerce were relaxed; roads and bridges were built, and carriers, on foot, on horseback, or in canoes, carried the mails with regularity and with really surprising speed,[1] considering the difficulties they had to contend against; there was a notable improvement in the civil service; above all, education and intellectual light began to filter in—the sciences were taught; in 1791 a weekly periodical saw the light in Bogotá, and a botanical survey under the direction of Dr. José Celestino Mutis grouped around that eminent naturalist a number of enthusiastic young disciples who displayed keen intellectual activities in many directions. The ground was being prepared for the spread of liberal ideas, which were to result in throwing off the Spanish yoke.

Whether the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish domains (1767) was due to the liberal ideas

dition (1744); A Letter to the Hon. Edward Vernon, from John Cathcart (1744); Smollett's Works, ed. by W. E. Henley (1898); *Expedition to Carthagena*, also *Roderick Random*; W. F. Vernon: *Memoirs of Admiral Vernon* (London, 1861); C. W. Hall: *Carthagena or the Lost Brigade* (Boston, 1898); W. Clark in 93 *Harper's Mag.*, p. 753 (1896); *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, March, 1881; Douglas Ford: *Admiral Vernon and the Navy* (1907); Nieto: *Geografia Historica de Cartagena* (Cart., 1839); *Diario de todo lo occurrido en . . . Cartagena* (Madrid, 1741; reprinted in *Tres Tratados de America*, Madrid, 1894); French version, *Journal du Siège de Carthagène* (Paris, 1741).

[1] Although offered horses, the Indian carriers often declined, saying "The horses get tired, but we do not." Pando, *Ytinerario de Correos* (MSS. *circa* 1780 in N.Y. Publ. Lib.).

of the King or to other grounds is somewhat doubtful: the immediate causes for this in many respects mistaken action have remained obscure. One thing is certain—the wealth of the Jesuits had increased enormously. Not only had they brought thousands of Indians under their government at the missions, but throughout New Granada they owned much of the richest agricultural and pastoral land. At the missions they were doubtless rendering a measure of useful service in civilizing the Indians, who led in socialistic communities lives of almost idyllic content and goodwill, though sapped of all mental power and vigour of character, in childlike dependence upon the good fathers; but in the civilized regions of the colony no less certainly were their vast holdings in mortmain a hindrance to even material development. The Jesuits soon had their revenge: their secret part in the movement against Spain has been shown by recent investigations to have been of great importance.

The expulsion of the Jesuits and the adoption of the new commercial code are the only striking events of the close of the colonial epoch. The imposition of certain additional taxes, by way of fiscal reform, aroused opposition which led to armed revolt; but although no attempt was then made to throw off Spanish allegiance, nor, in fact, till thirty years later, yet this popular uprising of 1781 has a certain connection with the movement for independence to which it formed a prelude, and therefore more properly belongs to the epoch of the Revolution.

CHAPTER III

MODERN HISTORY

THE utter lack of means of communication between the isolated and scantily inhabited communities of the colony would have made any concerted movement for independence utterly impossible during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—even had daring brains ever dreamed of such an idea. A quiet, law-abiding submission to Spanish authority, smuggling apart, was characteristic of the colonial history, refuting the theory, occasionally put forward to explain the frequency of South American revolutions, that there is an inherent tendency in the people to political strife and lawlessness. After the subjugation of the Indians there was a long period of unbroken tranquillity.

An adventurer of ill-repute, Lope de Aguirre, had, it is true, as early as the sixteenth century, run amuck in Venezuela and the *llanos* of Colombia, and in open revolt proclaimed the intention of freeing the colony from the oppressive yoke of crown and clergy. He has come down in history as a blood-thirsty, probably insane, villain ; but perhaps he should be credited as a revolutionary centuries ahead of his epoch and a forerunner of Miranda and Bolivar.

From the time of Aguirre's outbreak there was no revolt of any kind among the Spanish settlers in New Granada until 1781. In that year occurred

the uprising of the Comuneros of Socorro and other towns, aroused by obnoxious fiscal measures and encouraged by exaggerated reports of Tupuc-Amaru's successes in Peru. This was in no way a movement for independence, but was of importance as showing how easily the populace, if aroused, could gain the upper hand over the Spanish authorities: by treachery alone were the Comuneros overcome. Their revolt gave food for thought a few years later to a few intellectual progressives, whose secret ardour for liberty was inflamed by the slow but steady spread, even in the remote American colonies, of the principles of human freedom and equality as expounded by the French Revolution and in the United States. The Paris Convention's Declaration of the Rights of Man was translated and circulated by a brilliant youth of Bogotá, Antonio Nariño—a dire offence which caused his arrest, dispatch to Spain, and imprisonment, but which has given him immortal fame in Colombia under the title of the Precursor.

Another enthusiast, who had fought under Washington and had made his mark in the French armies, Francisco de Miranda,[1] obtained private aid in England and the United States, after failing to gain the support of either Government for his plans,

[1] For Miranda, see [Biggs] *History of . . . Miranda's Attempt*, Boston, 1808 (several editions in following years); *Minutes of the Court Martial . . . of Sir Home Popham* (London, 1807); [Sherman] *General Account of Miranda's Expedition* (N.Y., 1808); Lloyd: *The Trials of . . . Smith and Ogden* (N.Y., 1807); Antepara: *South American Emancipation* (London, 1810)—(written by Miranda, Antepara merely lending his name); *Moses Smith: History of the Adventures and Sufferings of* (Brooklyn, 1812, Albany, 1814); *Leben und Schicksale des Gen. Miranda* (1807); Buchez et Roux: *Histoire parlementaire*, xxvii., 26–70 (his trial in France for treason); Marques de Rojas: *El General Miranda* (Paris, 1884); A. Rojas: *Miranda dans la Révolution Française* (Caracas, 1889); Becerra: *Ensayo histórico documentado de la vida de Miranda*, 2 vols. (1896); and articles in *Mundial* (Paris, 1912).

and led a small expedition in 1806 to free Venezuela: foredoomed to failure, the ending was miserable; many of his followers were captured, some cruelly put to death.

The cry for independence was in swing, but only among the liberal few: there was no popular demand, nor were the people ripe for self-government. A concerted movement was still well-nigh impossible among such widely scattered communities, and the first steps were the isolated actions of town councils. Independence would have been indefinitely delayed had there been a stable Government in the mother country herself, but when a crisis came in the internal political affairs of Spain, when Napoleon ousted the King and installed in his place his own brother Joseph, one town council or junta after another in the colonies proclaimed its independence, though declaring itself still loyal to Ferdinand VII.

There was more, however, than mere opposition and antipathy to French rule back of the revolt of the town councils: the creoles, the permanent inhabitants of Spanish descent, had always felt jealous of the Spaniards sent to fill colonial offices and their adherents. The statement frequently made by superficial writers that the natives were excluded from participation in the public administration is not true; to the very highest offices they were not appointed, but the greater number of subordinate official posts were frequently filled by them. Nevertheless, they constantly felt they were not being given their fair share. The opportunity was now at hand for the creoles to gain the ascendancy over the Spaniards, contemptuously called *chapetones*. It was grasped.

Of the acts of independence, that of Bogotá, the seat of the Viceroy, was the most consequential. The struggle for freedom in New Granada may be said to have had its definite beginning on the 20th day of July, 1810, when the junta at the capital, called

together by the insistence of the populace (aroused by a trivial incident between a creole and a Spaniard), and after an all-night session, backed up by a mob of six or seven thousand patriots assembled throughout the night in the public square, declared the supreme government of New Granada transferred from the Spanish authorities to themselves as representing the Sovereignty of the People, and further resolved that a call for the election of deputies from the several provinces be sent out to join the junta in adopting a constitution for a federation of free and independent sovereign states. The otherwise startlingly revolutionary character of this declaration was tempered by a reservation of loyalty to King Ferdinand—a reservation soon cast to the winds by the ambitious leaders of the new ideas. Not all the provinces responded to the call sent out by the Bogotá junta. Many, like Cartagena, in their local pride, preferred their own undisturbed sway: a few, like Pasto, under the domination of a fanatical clergy, stubbornly remained loyal to the Spanish authorities. The remnants of ultra-marine rule could have been readily extinguished, but there was unhappily initiated a period, bordering on anarchy, of impotent civil strife, aptly dubbed by Colombian historians "*la patria boba*"—"foolish" in that, neglecting the opportunity to cement the foundations of the nation against the inevitable future attempt of Spain to regain her power, the country's energies were misspent in civil life. Simon Bolivar soon came to the front among the patriots, having gained some important victories over the royalists, but he, too, was drawn into the whirl of internecine war.

1815 arrived. Napoleon fell. Spain, freed from dread of invasion, prepared to "pacify"—that is to say, to overwhelm—her revolted colonies. A large army of veterans arrived from the Peninsula under command of General Pablo Morillo and reconquered

Venezuela and New Granada ; the severest measures of repression were resorted to ; hundreds and thousands were executed, exiled, impressed into the royalist ranks, or left to suffer or die in prison.

Here and there in Colombia and Venezuela the revolutionists held firm ; the brave *llaneros*, the most picturesque and romantic of the patriots, with their ingenious guerrilla warfare, were not readily subdued : in the Orinoco delta, a mulatto, General Piar, maintained a stronghold, and in other scattered places the hopes of the battlers for liberty were kept alive. Aid was sought abroad, and the disbanded armies of Europe supplied adventurers ready to enlist. English and Irish soldiers especially flocked to join Bolivar, the only leader who could succeed in uniting the conflicting elements among the revolutionists, and in whom all hope soon became centred. In 1819 he accomplished his most striking achievement. Suddenly crossing the inundated *llanos* during the rainy season and passing over the *paramos* of the Andes, despite cold and hunger, he fell upon the advance-guards of the surprised royalists, effected a union with Santander, and utterly routed the Spaniards at the decisive battle of Boyacá (August 7, 1819). This was the turning point of the war. Three days later Bolivar entered Bogotá, and the independence of New Granada was assured. The Liberator then entered upon his glorious campaigns in Venezuela and the countries to the south, to wrest half a continent from the Spanish yoke and share with San Martin the supreme honours of the independence of South America.[1]

[1] Professor Hiram Bingham, of Yale University, has written a study of the battle of Boyacá and the route of Bolivar's army in *Journal of an Expedition across Venezuela and Columbia*, 1906–1907 (New Haven, 1909).

The best history of the Revolution, although written in a partisan spirit, is still the *Historia de la Revolucion de Colombia*, by José Manual Restrepo, Bolivar's secretary (Paris, 1827 ; Besançon, 1858).

The patriot Congress was in session at Angostura when news came to it of the victory of Boyacá and Bolivar's entry into Bogotá. Its previous attitude of censure naturally was turned into the most enthusiastic praise ; the title of *Libertador* was con-

In English, perhaps the best account is to be found in Mitre's *The Emancipation of South America,* condensed tr. by W. Pilling (London, 1893). The most valuable recent contribution in English is Petre's *Life of Bolivar* (London and N.Y., 1911). Among important books not mentioned in Petre's bibliography or recently published dealing with Bolivar or the war in Colombia, are : *Colección de documentos relativos à la vida publica del libertador* (Caracas, 1826–33) ; Calvo : *Annales Historiques de la révolution de l'Amérique latine* (Paris, 1864–75) [also in Spanish] ; Blanco y Azpurua : *Documentos para la historia de la vida publica del libertador* (Caracas, 1875–7) (14 vols. were published) ; Captain W. T. Adams : *Journal of Voyages to Margaritta* (Dublin, 1824) ; [F. Hall] *Present State of Colombia* (London, 1827) ; W. B. Stevenson : *Twenty Years' Residence in South America* (London, 1825, 1828) [also Fr. and Germ. trans.] ; *Recollections of a Service of Three Years in Venez. and Colombia,* by an Officer of the Colombian Navy (London, 1828) ; *Documentos para servir à la historia de la conspiracion del 25 de Setiembre,* 1828 (Bogotá, 1829) ; *Proceso seguido al general Santander* (Bogotá, 1831) ; *Campaigns and Cruises in Venezuela and New Grenada,* 1817–1830 (London, 1831) ; Kottenkampf : *Der unabhangigkeitskampf der Sp. Am. colonien* (Stuttgart, 1838) ; Mosquera, T. C. de : *Vida del libertador* (N.Y., 1853) ; Perez, Felipe : *Anales de la Revolución* (Bogotá, 1863) ; *id.* : *Biografia de Zea* (Bogotá, 1873) ; Lacroix : *Raciocinos del libertador* (Paris, 1869) ; *id.* : *Diario de Bucaramanga* ; Espinosa, J. M. : *Memorias de un abandonerado* (Bogotá, 1876) ; de Rojas : *Simon Bolivar* (Madrid, 1883) ; Samper, J. M. : *El Libertador* (Buenos Aires, 1884) ; Castaños y Montijano : *Paginas olvidadas . . . narración de la guerra separatista de America* (Toledo, 1891) ; *Biblioteca de Historia Nacional* (Bogotá, v.d.) ; Becker : "La Independencia de America" (in *España Moderna,* 1908, vols. 229, 231, 232) ; Rodriguez Villa : *Morillo : Estudio biografico documentado* (Madrid, 1909–10) ; Urrutia : *El Ideal Politico del libertador* (Bogotá, 1911) ; Jules Mancini : *Bolivar et l'émancipation des colonies espagnoles* (Paris, 1912) ; Luis A. Cuervo : *Bolivar intimo* (Bogotá, 1912) ; Villanueva : *Bolivar y San Martin* (Paris, 1912). See also the bibliographies in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America, The Cambridge Modern History,* and Paxson : *The Independence of the South American Republics* (Phila., 1903).

ferred upon Bolivar, and the assembly became readily pliant to his will. His projects for a union between Venezuela and New Granada were adopted, the Republic of Colombia organized and himself elected President. The territory of the republic was divided into three departments, corresponding to the present countries of Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador, with capitals respectively at Bogotá, Caracas, and Quito, each department in charge of a vice-president.

The Vice-President at Bogotá was Francisco de Paula Santander, who was left at the helm whilst Bolivar pursued his military campaigns. Santander, who continued to be the dominant figure in Colombian politics until his death in 1840, was of the best type of public men South America has produced. Well versed in politics and jurisprudence, he was a constructive statesman who relied upon law, not force, for the maintenance of government, amply earning the title that has been bestowed on him, *el hombre de las leyes*—" the man of law." He was ever a sincere patriot, subordinating his personal ambition to his country's welfare, and his public record has but few stains. One of these was his tacit approval of the conspiracy against Bolivar,[1] upon the latter's reassuming dictatorial power in Colombia ; on this occasion (September 25, 1828) the Liberator narrowly saved his life, being aided by his mistress in making his escape from a window in the palace. Another blot on Santander's career was his unduly revengeful treatment, unmindful of his own former pardon, of conspirators against himself a few years later. Apart from these acts, his life is a signal example of courageous devotion, in the face of great obstacles, to lofty principles.

Santander stood against Bolivar as the foremost supporter of a federal form of government—a con-

[1] Some historians deny that Santander participated at all in the conspiracy. Petre sums up the evidence.

federation of sovereign States. Bolivar was in favour of a strongly centralized government, and was, in fact, suspected of harbouring monarchical tendencies. It is indisputable that at one time he did desire a life tenure as dictator, under the belief that his own strong hand was essential to the development of the nation.

The Angostura assembly had convoked a general Congress for the new republic to meet at Rosario del Cúcuta on January 1, 1821. After considerable delay in organizing, work was at last got under way ; a Constitution was framed, largely along the lines of Bolivar's ideas, and a number of laws of prime importance passed. The Inquisition was abolished, the emancipation of the slaves begun, religious toleration enacted, the administration and judiciary organized. It was while the Congress was in session that the battle of Carabobo (June 24, 1821) was won, assuring the sway of the republic in Venezuela. Cartagena and other lingering strongholds of the Spaniards were conquered, and soon after these successes came recognition of the independence of Colombia by foreign Powers, the United States being the first. The diplomacy of Canning, leading up to the Monroe doctrine, assured the permanency of the hard-earned independence. The struggle continued in the south, in Peru and Bolivia, but Colombia was free from fear of Spanish aggression.

La Gran Colombia was not destined to long life. Within a very few years it split up into the component parts—Colombia, Venezuela, and Ecuador—which since have retained their distinctive nationalities. The reunion of these countries under one flag has ever been a pious wish and a fruitful theme for orators and essayists, but with little prospect of practical realization. In addressing the Congress at Cúcuta, Zea, the Vice-President, in his inaugural address, said :

CARTAGENA.

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"United, neither the empire of the Assyrians, the Medes or the Persians, the Macedonian or the Roman Empire can ever be compared with this colossal republic ; but none of the three departments of Venezuela, Cundinamarca, or Quito can in the course of a century become by itself alone a stable and respectable nation."

However fantastic his words as to the glory awaiting the union, his prophecy as to the fate of the shattered members has been too well fulfilled. The *llanero* General Paez was the leader of the separatist party in Venezuela, and by 1830 he had definitely gained his ends, and the Republic of Venezuela had been declared ; Ecuador followed suit. The Peruvians, too, not content with casting off the yoke of the ambitious Bolivar, had declared war a year previously against Colombia, but were decisively defeated by Sucre at the battle of Tarqui (1829). A certain rankling remains to this day ; whenever, as has frequently happened, boundary questions between Colombia and Peru stir up a crisis and threaten armed conflict, this old war is remembered.

The year following the split with Venezuela and Ecuador, the very name Colombia was abandoned : the provinces which continued to recognize the Bogotá Government were now called the "Republic of New Granada," Santander being elected President under a new conservative Constitution adopted in 1831, although he himself is deemed the founder of the Liberal party. A period comparatively free from disturbance continued until 1858 under the centralized Government, strengthened by a still more conservative Constitution passed in 1843. The country's Presidents were nearly all men of ability, energy, and patriotism. Of these the most striking figure was General Tomas Cipriano de Mosquera (1845-9)—the most remarkable man in Colombian history after Bolivar and Santander.

Scion of a noble family, which claims descent from Charlemagne and kinship with the Empress Eugénie, he was one of four brothers, all of whom attained distinction. Soldier, statesman, author, scientist, his energy was no less remarkable than his versatility ; [1] he served with distinction in the struggle against Spain, and displayed great military skill in the civil wars : he wrote a biography of Bolivar and several geographical works ; and he is the man of the century who did most for the country's development, fostering science, education, and a host of public improvements, and maintaining the country's credit and finances on a relatively sound footing.

Mosquera, originally a tolerant Conservative, later became and remained the chief of the Liberal party. As such he led a successful revolution, becoming President in 1863, under a new Constitution adopted by the victors at Rio Negro. To emphasize the federal system of government, now warmly espoused (steps towards it had already been taken in 1858) and carried to absurd extremes, this fundamental law renamed the nation " the United States of Colombia," which appellation was retained until 1886, when the present title of the Republic of Colombia was assumed.

The Liberal domination continued for a score of years, but was troubled by frequent uprisings, generally instigated by the clergy, who, it must be admitted, were persecuted to a fanatical extreme. One revolution (1876-7), of short duration but sanguinary, though unsuccessful, initiated a period

[1] His character and career bear many striking resemblances to those of Colonel Roosevelt, both energetic, versatile, popular, though intensely hated by their enemies, egotistic, dominating, violent of temper and outspoken in utterance, but the North American suffers by comparison with the South American in point of mental capacity and originality and sincerity. To point a moral : Mosquera in 1867 assumed dictatorial powers, but by a military *coup d'état*, executed by his own friends, was ousted and exiled.

of transformation. Dr. Rafael Nuñez, elected President by the less *intransigeant* wing of his party, gradually went over to the Conservative side. After his election to a second term, not consecutive, the government came completely into the hands of the Conservatives. The Liberals provoked a revolution (1885-6), the suppression of which planted their opponents so firmly in power that a new Constitution, the one now in force, abolishing the sovereignty of the states, centralizing power, and recognizing the Church, was framed.

The presidential term was fixed at six years. In 1892, Nuñez was re-elected, but did not exercise the duties of office ; now feeble in health, he retired to Cartagena, and several Vice-Presidents in succession, of whom the most notable was Dr. Miguel Antonio Caro, were the active heads of the Government. The Conservative party was, however, splitting up into factions, and it is probable that the Liberals would have gradually but peaceably regained control ; abuses, however, which they deemed intolerable, made them impatient, and soon after the election of Sanclemente, civil war, under the leadership of another remarkably able and versatile man, General Rafael Uribe-Uribe, broke out (1899). Sanclemente was old and feeble ; ousted from power by a faction of his own party, he was virtually kept a prisoner at his country residence until his death. The Vice-President Marroquin vigorously waged war against the Liberals, and finally triumphed. The struggle was of long duration ; peace was not officially re-established till 1903. Colombia has not yet wholly recovered from the ravages of the war ; in addition to the loss of life and property, the country became burdened with an inflated paper currency, an incubus of which it is not yet rid, its credit abroad was impaired, and the revolution was indirectly the cause of the loss of Panama.

General Rafael Reyes, who had attained distinction as an explorer and power as the chief of the Government forces during the revolution of 1885, was elected to succeed Marroquin, the hopes of the country being centred on him. Ever since his abdication in 1910, there has been bitter criticism in Colombia of Reyes, but the future historian, free from the bias of partisanship, will undoubtedly recognize much good in his five years' administration. Reyes did much to re-establish the exhausted nation's credit abroad, procured the development of roads and railroads with both foreign and domestic capital, kept order, allowed business a chance to grow, and maintained on the whole an enlightened public policy. Reyes, however, like Bolivar before him, believed that Colombia could only be set on a permanently firm footing by a strong, almost dictatorial, hand: Diaz of Mexico, a close personal friend, was his ideal; but Reyes is a man at once too humane and too enlightened to carry out such ruthless measures as established Diaz on a virtual throne. Nor are the Colombian people so subservient: public opinion finally rose to a high pitch against alleged "dictatorship"; Reyes gave away before it and left the country. In due course and by regular process of law, the present incumbent, Dr. Carlos E. Restrepo, was elected President, and has provided a most creditable administration.

The last ten peaceful years of Colombia's history are of good augury.

The main subjects of political controversy during the nation's life, it will have been noted, have been the struggle between opposing theories of Government, federation versus centralization, and the attitude to be adopted by the Government towards the Church. All sorts of questions, many of them not intrinsically political at all, have been collaterally involved, and the very names adopted by the parties—

Liberal, Conservative—have tended to a grouping of other subsidiary ideas under the main ones. The Liberals, for instance, by the very force of their name, have tended to herald themselves as the sole protectors of individual rights and liberties, of freedom of speech and of the Press : adherents, consequently, of civil marriage and of divorce : opponents, in the early days, of slavery ; to-day, now that is a dead issue, of capital punishment. The Conservatives, upholders of an established State Church—the Catholic, of course—and of the control by that Church of education, have been wont to brand their opponents as godless and irreligious, as enemies of the home and of the Church—charges wholly unfounded against the rank and file, though naturally free-thinkers and Radicals would be more apt to gather under the banner of the Liberal party. Party feeling has often risen to the most bitter pitch. Fierce hatred has shown itself during some revolutions—notably those of 1859 and 1876—almost to the point of savagery. Revivals of this bitter partisan spirit are occasionally seen to-day, but on the whole a milder, more tolerant, and juster spirit prevails ; progress has undoubtedly been made, and the leaders of all parties do unite, not infrequently, for the common good. While it would be rash to predict that revolutions are over—of what country in the world with seething economic problems to face could that be said?—it can be with assurance stated that the days of chronic political instability in Colombia are irrevocably gone. Revolutions caused by mere desire of the "outs" to become the "ins," or by the ambitions of individual chiefs, are no longer possible ; revolutions, if any unhappily are to come, will be as a sole means of correcting grave abuses or defending fundamental rights, and as public opinion has become a definite power—witness the termination of the Reyes *régime*—it is unlikely that conditions will come to

such a pass as to justify or require an appeal to the last resort. The long duration of the last revolution (1899-1903), the woeful destruction it caused, and the enduring evils it entailed, have taught the Colombians a lesson not soon to be forgotten, and before a new generation assumes control Colombia will, it is believed, have attained such material development, with its concomitant advantages, that tranquillity may be looked forward to with as much assurance as in Chile and Argentina or England and the United States. Petty uprisings will, of course, occur. They may be branded, both at home and abroad, as "revolutions," but they will be trivial in character, less of a menace, and less destructive than a coal strike or a railroad strike in Great Britain or the States.

I must correct a misconception that the reader may possibly have formed, or been confirmed in, by my use just now of the term "chronic political instability." Colombia has never in all its history for a long period of time been in such a condition as that which has devastated some other Spanish American countries; there has been, however, chronic *fear* of revolution, with all its paralysis. There is much misconception as to the number of real revolutions in its history; only twice has the "legitimate" succession to the Presidency been upset—a record unequalled by any other Spanish American country with the single exception of Chile. In other words, *successful* revolutions have been rare: the established Government has nearly always succeeded either in suppressing armed revolt or in securing a working compromise. But this past tendency to revolution is worthy of study. The subject cannot be dismissed with the contemptuous generalities that the average Englishman or American is apt to bestow. There has been no *one* cause for revolutionism; no general formulæ, sometimes put forward, as to inherent

lawlessness, incompatibility of races, unfitness for self-government fostered by the Spanish colonial system, etc., will fit the case. Inherent lawlessness we have shown at the beginning of this chapter to be false—racial antagonisms have played but a very small part : the unripeness for self-government at the birth of the nation has been a contributory cause ; but the truer causes have been manifold. Go below the surface, and in Colombia as in other nations economic necessities of various kinds and the human surge upwards to higher levels of life, material and intellectual, will be found consciously or subconsciously at work. The Irish " We don't know what we want, but, begorrah, we're bound to get it " is not as unreasonable as it may sound : so the ignorant Colombian *peon* or Indian impressed into a revolutionary army, and his superficially educated, restlessly excitable, nervous colonel or general, have been the instruments of an upward progression. The unrest has been justified. There has been something rotten in the State—vast rich lands lying waste ; the lower classes neglected ; material necessities, though unfelt because unknown, high standards of food, clothing, and shelter, wanting ; education nil ; the *politico* often choosing politics, and incidentally revolution, as the only means of livelihood, having been taught no other ; even religious cravings often unsatisfied ; higher intellectual life denied—all these have been contributory causes. By reason of lack of education of the masses, and for the classes a misdirected education—unpractical and often superficial—there has not been learned perseverance and patience to correct through orderly processes of government. Add sectional feeling, the regionism inherited from Spain—undissolved because of lack of facile intercommunication—and the pot is ready to boil.

The cure, therefore, for revolutionism is obvious :

material prosperity and education. It is now at work. With foreign capital and foreign immigration, material prosperity will come speedily : without them, or either of them, the day of salvation will be delayed. Immigration is needed, not so much because there is any real scarcity in the ranks of labour, but for education : foreign workers, especially if *simpatico*, can better teach the Colombians, who are ready pupils, to be workers. Improved sanitary conditions will come with the expenditure of money, and with the consequent abolition of malaria, anæmia, etc., many misnamed cases of laziness will disappear. Wealth and education hand in hand will lead Colombia from the brink of the chasm to the highroad of peace and order.

CHAPTER IV

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

COLOMBIA'S diplomatic history has had two important phases—one of fleeting glory at the beginning of her life as an independent nation, one of impotent humiliation, in recent times, at the hands of a stronger Power. Some knowledge of these is necessary if one is to attain a sympathetic understanding of the present-day mind of her thinking population.

For a brief moment, when Bolivar was the foremost leader in South America, Colombia held a position of prestige throughout the continent. The Liberator then conceived the idea of a closer political union among the American nations, and with that end in view convoked the first Pan-American Congress. This met at Panama in 1826; nothing was accomplished, but the ideas then advanced and debated have borne fruit.

In 1889 James G. Blaine, then Secretary of State, realizing the tremendous importance to the United States of its relations to the Spanish American countries, revivified Bolivar's project, and organized the second of those Pan-American Conferences, which have since convened with frequency and regularity. The policy of the United States Foreign Office has been to promote closer relations with the Latin American countries, for the twofold purpose of fostering its own trade and commerce and of preserving the supremacy of its own power in the

New World by confining the European nations to their present colonies. It has systematically instilled the doctrine of Pan-Americanism — sincerely, no doubt, in spite of assertions to the contrary. Nevertheless, there has grown up a feeling in many Spanish American quarters that Pan-Americanism seen through Yankee eyes means, not "America for the Americans," but "America for the North Americans." As a consequence, the ideas sought to be developed by Bolivar at the Panama Congress have been kept alive, but driven to a different goal. The main object of that remarkable gathering was to form a defensive alliance against Spain, and that was why, in spite of popular enthusiasm, opposition was developed in the United States, mindful of its traditional rule against entangling alliances, to participating in the Congress. To-day an alliance among the Spanish American countries is again agitated, no longer against Spain or any other European Power, but against the United States, the "Colossus of the North." Fear of Yankee aggression, of Yankee invasion and conquest, is a dominant note in this movement; and it is because Colombia, of all the Spanish American countries, is the one most affected with this fear, that I have deemed it necessary to introduce the subject briefly in these pages. A discussion of the larger questions arising from the relations of the United States to the Spanish American countries in general, and, in particular, of the Monroe doctrine and its recently expounded corollaries, of the international aspects of the Panama Canal,[1] of the position of the United States in the Caribbean, and of intervention, while tempting, would lead us too far afield. I shall accordingly confine my remarks strictly to Colombia.

Even in this enlightened age every nation seems

[1] See the admirable study by Harmodio Arias, Esq.: *The Panama Canal* (London, 1911).

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to have a bugaboo of an impending foreign enemy —England, Germany ; the United States, Japan ; and so forth. So Colombians dread a Yankee attempt sooner or later to overpower South America, and believe their land to be the outpost which will be first attacked. They have already felt the talon of the Eagle ; they have a hysterical dread that the voracious bird will again swoop down upon their country. Hysterical is the only word. Suspicion of the designs of the American Government is carried to absurd limits : innocent provisions for coaling rights in a proposed treaty, or steps by American companies to acquire tracts of land for timber or mining in certain sections, or purely commercial railroad or banking projects, are misconstrued to be an opening wedge ; even prospecting American engineers have been suspected of being secret spies.

And the Americans have only themselves to blame ! Ever since the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War there has been a certain latent fear of Yankee aggression among the Latin American peoples, and a certain dislike of the Gringoes. The events of 1903, the ruthless seizure by President Roosevelt of the coveted Panama Canal strip, and Colombia's humiliation at having her protests and demands for redress ignored, have carried this fear and this dislike to a high pitch.

There is nothing new that can be said on the subject ; but in spite of the lapse of so many years, the unsettled " Panama question " is still a burning one in Colombia. This must be my justification for repeating what to many a reader must be an oft-told tale, for nothing else has brought Colombia so much into the public light.

The Spanish-American War redoubled the eagerness, and spurred the diplomatic efforts of the United States for an interoceanic canal. After long-protracted negotiations a treaty was entered into in

Washington between John Hay, Secretary of State, and the Colombian chargé d'affaires, Tomas Herran, by which the United States was to acquire the right to build the canal across the Isthmus of Panama.

The treaty was ratified by the United States Senate, and then needed only confirmation by the Colombian Congress. Considerable opposition to it was, however, aroused, and it was finally rejected, this result being contributed to by certain tactless threats conveyed in a still more tactless manner by the American chargé d'affaires in Bogotá. This opposition was lamentably shortsighted, but for the most part sincere and honest, and the rejection of the treaty, even if not the duty of the Senate under the Constitution, was incontrovertibly within its legal rights under any aspect of international law.

A revolution, as was expected, broke out soon after in Panama, fostered largely by foreigners, conspicuous among whom were the representatives of the French Canal Company and its subsidiary, the Panama Railroad Company. The connivance of the United States Government has been charged, but although there were suspicious circumstances, the charge has not been absolutely proven. Panama proclaimed its independence on November 3, 1903. Colombia was prevented by United States marines and by the express declarations of President Roosevelt's Government from making any attempt at suppressing the revolution and maintaining the revolted province in her allegiance. A few days later the United States recognized the independence of the new republic, received Philippe Bunau-Varila, a Frenchman, the leading advocate for years of the Panama route and one of the chief instigators of the revolution, as minister plenipotentiary, and on November 18th signed a treaty with him acquiring the canal zone and the right to build the canal. The contract previously entered into with the Receiver

of the French Panama Canal Company for the transfer of its rights was then consummated.

Colombia protested, and has repeatedly protested, but in vain. The violation of the treaty of 1846, whereby the United States guaranteed the sovereignty of New Granada over the Isthmus of Panama, the flouting of the ordinary rules of international law in recognizing the independence of Panama within a few days of its declaration, the prevention by American marines of all attempts on the part of the Colombian Government to reassert its authority, were affronts of a nature which could not have been dared against a strong nation. Colombia, a weak Power, had not alone to submit, but was forced to see its humiliation increased by a peremptory refusal to treat with its envoys or to submit the pending questions to arbitration.

The United States has been almost blind to the disastrous consequences to itself, both political and commercial, of the act of gross injustice that was committed, and of the policy of indifference it has since pursued. It is not Colombia alone that has been affected ; the shock of the taking of Panama was felt throughout Spanish America : a quiver of indignation ran through the Southern continent, causing spasmodic outbursts of anti-American feeling which have proved detrimental to the best commercial interests of the United States and favourable to European trade, and which have hampered American diplomacy. As we have seen, there is a well-defined movement throughout South America looking towards a union for protection against the United States.

But such a movement seems impracticable, and is impeded by local dissensions and by the jealousy of the sister nations. Unfriendly relations with adjoining States are the rule rather than the exception. So far as Colombia is concerned, her troubles

with her neighbours are chiefly due to boundary conflicts, of which the most troublesome at the present time is that with Peru.

These boundary questions date back to the time of the Independence. It was comparatively simple at that time for the nations to agree that the principle of the *Uti possidetis* of 1810 should serve as the solution to determine frontiers—that the territorial limits of the independent nations should be those of the Spanish colonies which preceded them. The principle, embodied in many of the Constitutions and recognized in South American diplomacy, was easy to formulate. Its application was difficult in the extreme. The boundaries of the Spanish colonies had never been laid down with precision : the grants from the crown were often vague : conflicts of jurisdiction had been frequent : the vast inland regions were almost wholly unknown, and their geography often conjectural. And for one reason and another these boundary questions have dragged on, unsettled, for a century.

The arbitral award of the King of Spain, rendered in 1891, should have settled the boundary dispute with Venezuela, but it has not been put into execution, and minor disputes have arisen as to its interpretation. Moreover, the problem has been complicated by the restrictions placed by Venezuela against Colombian trade on the navigable rivers of the Orinoco and Lake Maracaibo watersheds. The questions are still pending, a thorn in the flesh. During the supremacy of Castro in Venezuela a solution seemed well-nigh impossible, but at the present time both Governments are showing a better spirit, and an early determination can be looked forward to.

With Peru the outlook is not so favourable. The contending nations have never been able to agree upon an arbitration treaty, though many have been

drafted.[1] Colombia's pretensions extend to the Amazon, but Peru has actually exercised unhindered jurisdiction north of the Amazon for a long course of years: her great river-port, Iquitos, is situated on the north shore of that majestic river, and its traders have found in the rich rubber forests an incentive to a gradual northward aggression favoured by the Peruvian Government. A few years ago a conflict on the Putumayo was narrowly avoided by a *modus vivendi* agreement (1905), which recognized that river as the provisional boundary. This agreement was later denounced; the Iquitos rubber traders pushed steadily north, subjugating Indians and massacring Colombian traders; in 1911 a Colombian garrison at La Pedrera, on the north bank of the Caquetá, the next great tributary of the Amazon, was attacked by Peruvian troops, and after a heroic resistance was compelled to evacuate. A war fever was aroused throughout Colombia, martial zeal rose to a high pitch, but the diplomats of both countries succeeded in averting such a disaster, Peru surrendering La Pedrera.

Ecuador claims the same disputed territory, but there is no such animosity between her and Colombia as between the latter and Peru. On the contrary, the Colombians and Ecuadorians feel themselves brothers-in-arms against a common foe whom they must repel by law or war, confident, more or less, that as between themselves they will subsequently succeed in making an equitable division.[2] It is

[1] A convention signed September 12, 1905, failed of ratification.

[2] A definite boundaries treaty between Colombia and Ecuador was signed May 24, 1908, completed by a treaty of July 21st, same year: these have not yet been ratified.

An authoritative source of information in regard to Colombian boundary questions, up to the date of its publication, with valuable bibliographies, is A. J. Uribe: *Anales Diplomaticos de Colombia* (2 vols., Bogotá, 1900–1). For the negotiations since that date, negotiations which even one of the foremost South American diplomats

more than likely that all these matters involved between the various countries will be decided in the course of the next few years by arbitration, submitted either voluntarily or through moral pressure exercised by other Powers, since it must not be forgotten that, however lamentable their internal condition at times, the South American nations have taught many a useful lesson to the more " civilized " Europeans in the field of international arbitration.

If the writer can be pardoned for venturing on a prophecy, the eventual boundary between Colombia and Peru will be the Putumayo River, with, possibly, a deviation to the north in the latter's favour, to protect some of her colonists on tributary rivers in its lower course (the source of the river is unquestionably Colombian). Peru a few years ago—I had it on the authority at the time of one of her distinguished diplomats — would have been well satisfied to have that river fixed as the definite boundary.

A common antagonism to Peru has allied Chile and Colombia ; their relations are most cordial. As early as 1880 a permanent and absolute general treaty of arbitration was signed by the two nations, and Chilean officers have been at work in recent years in training and reorganizing the Colombian army.

With the other Spanish American nations not already mentioned, Colombia's diplomatic relations are unimportant—in fact, practically nil. Nor does her international intercourse with the rest of the world present anything of special interest. The

calls "*Très difficiles à saisir*" (Alvarez : *Droit international American*, Paris, 1910), the yearly publications and special reports of the various Foreign Offices must be consulted. The controversial literature, which is abundant, is apt to be misleading. Exception must be made of the recently published book by General Rafael Uribe-Uribe.

European nations have occasionally pressed claims of their nationals for injuries to person or property, but all have been satisfactorily settled by direct diplomacy or arbitration.[1] Foreigners have had but little cause for complaint in Colombia, unlike some other South American countries: their lives and their property have been secure even during revolutions; in fact, during the progress of a revolution they have often been placed, as far as money-making is concerned, in a position far more advantageous than the native.

Worthy of mention is Colombia's friendly feeling for Germany and for Japan, due to a mistaken notion that these nations are inimical to the United States, which she has come to regard as her worst enemy; but any alliance with either is extremely unlikely. It has, however, been suggested that one means by which the United States could compensate Colombia for her Panama loss, without the necessity of confessing wrongdoing, would be by paying Colombia a substantial sum in consideration of an engagement not to permit the acquisition of any seaport, coaling rights, or canal by any foreign Power.

Colombia has suffered somewhat from the want of an established and organized diplomatic and consular service. Appointments to foreign posts are largely due to friendship, nepotism, or political expediency—to reward an ally or remove a foe. True, able lawyers and men who by birth and social position or by experience in foreign countries are well-equipped for a diplomatic life often credit-

[1] Of recent cases, the most important was that of Cerruti, an Italian subject, whose property was confiscated for alleged complicity in the revolution of 1885. It presented many points of interest to the international lawyer, and was decided by President Cleveland as arbitrator, in 1897, in Cerruti's favour. Some minor questions left pending by his decision were not finally settled till 1911.

ably fill positions abroad, but their tenure of office is apt to be short-lived ; naturally the ablest men are the most ambitious, and ever ready to shift from duty at a foreign Court to the temptation of political leadership at home. At the present time Colombia accredits ministers to England, France, and Germany, Spain, the Holy See, the United States, Venezuela, Ecuador, and to Chile, Peru, and Brazil combined ; appointments *ad honorem* are frequently made to other countries. Paid consuls are also maintained at London, Liverpool, Paris, Antwerp, St. Nazare, Hamburg, New York, Guayaquil, San Francisco, Curaçoa. One commendable feature of her foreign service, which would be still more commendable if it were not so frequently exercised as a pure act of favouritism and not as a reward of merit, is the sending of young men as nominal attachés to the legations and consulates for the purpose of pursuing their studies abroad. While not all resist the temptations of the gay or idle life to which they are exposed, the study at close range of the social and governmental institutions of nations more advanced than their own is of distinct service to their country. For this reason, as well as because a training in foreign service is furnished, this is an enlightened form of scholarship which should be encouraged, though with care that it be based purely on a merit system.

CHAPTER V

GOVERNMENT AND LAW

THE early Constitutions of Colombia, like those of so many others of the South American countries, were modelled on that of the United States, and the outer structure of the Constitution of to-day, in spite of the casting aside of the doctrine of state sovereignty and the adoption of the French centralized system, bears many points of resemblance to the fundamental charter of the North American nation.

The United States Constitution was the result of a natural evolution, a product of the brains of men steeped in the common law, learned in their Coke and their Blackstone, jealous of their hereditary rights and liberties ; while adopting new external forms, its inner spirit was essentially a common law spirit : almost every phrase was pregnant with historical meaning, engendered by an ancestry of ancient statutes and decisions.

It was obviously a mistake to attempt to graft such an alien institution on a people bred in the Spanish civil law, instead of revitalizing the existing Spanish institutions and breathing into them—no easy, yet no impossible task—the modern spirit of liberty. The consequence has been that the Colombians, a few exceptions apart, have never really understood, do not to-day understand, their own

Constitution, which is a translation wherein words and phrases have lost much of their historic significance and in which the precious safeguards of individual right and the admirable system of checks and balances seem to have been entirely lost. No vast body of constitutional law has been built up: the Constitution has no vital effect upon the nation's life or laws: inner spirit it has none; and though there is much discussion over it, and to-day all political parties proclaim themselves "constitutional," that is, adherents in the main of the existing Constitution,[1] yet a reading of it furnished us surprisingly little assistance in arriving at any complete understanding of the actual workings of the Government.

The Constitution contains the customary division of all governmental power into the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial. The Executive has always vastly overshadowed the others, and even to-day, under a normal *régime*, does so—not the President alone, but the ensemble of the Executive departments, seven in number: State or Government, Foreign Relations, *Hacienda* or Exchequer (in charge of Government revenues), Treasury (in charge of disbursements), War, Public Works, and Education. The Ministers at the head of these departments are appointed by the President and freely removable by him, but are responsible to the Legislature, in whose deliberations they participate. The amount of public business being relatively small, the President can and does actually keep in touch with every department: frequent shifts and changes

[1] Adopted in 1886; a translation by Professor Bernard Moses is to be found in *Foreign Constitutions*, comp. by George A. Glynn (Albany, N.Y., 1894), reprinted from Am. Acad. of Pol. and Soc. Sci. (Philadelphia, 1893); and also in *American Constitutions*, by José Ignacio Rodriguez (Washington, D.C., 1905–7). Several important amendments were adopted, however, in 1910—not included in either of these books. For a translation of these see Appendix I.

PRESIDENT RESTREPO AND HIS CABINET, 1912.

(1) Sr. Dr. Carlos E. Restrepo, President ; (2) Sr. Dr. Carlos Cuervo Márquez, Minister of Public Instruction ; (3) Sr. Dr. José Manuel Arango, Minister of War ; (4) Sr. Dr. Francisco Restrepo Plata, Minister of Hacienda ; (5) Sr. Dr. Pedro M. Carreño, Minister of Government ; (6) Sr. Dr. José Ma. Gonzalez Valencia, Minister of Foreign Affairs ; (7) Sr. Dr. Simon Araujo, Minister of Public Works ; (8) Sr. Dr. Carlos N. Rosales, Minister of the Treasury.

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in the ministry are the rule in practice, and rarely is a minister in office long enough to build up his department or carry out his own policies. The President himself, however, is elected by direct popular vote for a term of four years,[1] but is not eligible for consecutive re-election.

The President likewise appoints and can freely remove the governors of the departments, who, in their turn, designate and control the prefects of the provinces and the alcaldes of the municipalities. These various officers, all mediately or directly under the thumb of the President, *are* the local government. The only measure of home rule is to be found in the limited powers of the departmental assemblies and the *consejos municipales* [municipal boards], both elected by popular vote: the latter, although the name has been adopted from the French "conseil municipal," are, in reality, typical Spanish institutions, lineal descendants of the *ayuntamientos*. The *ayuntamiento* in Spain was not so much a local territorial institution adhering to the land as an association or organization of the individual members or families of the community; if they moved, an *ayuntamiento* moved with them: much as the Englishman carried his common law with him wherever he went, so did the Spaniard carry his *ayuntamiento*. Rights clustered around the *ayuntamiento;* representation in the Parliament or Cortes had been obtained in Spain earlier than in any other European country: there were corporate privileges and liberties which even the King himself could not attack, though he claimed absolute power. Although the functions of the *ayuntamiento,* transported to the colonies, were weakened by disuse, it yet retained

[1] There is no Vice-President, but the two houses of Congress meeting jointly elect each year two designated successors, first and second *Designado* respectively, to act in case there should be a vacancy in the Presidency.

some of its local power and a measure of independence. The great mistake made by the framers of Colombia's early Constitutions, in the writer's opinion, was in not taking such a thoroughly Spanish institution as the *ayuntamiento* as the unit or foundation upon which to base their government, instead of hearkening after strange gods. Perhaps it is not yet too late.

The *consejeros*, or town councillors, are generally men of standing in the community—merchants, lawyers, doctors, *hacendados*, are usually the incumbents, with but a comparatively small sprinkling of professional politicians. The *proletariat* is not represented ; no class struggle has yet begun in Colombia, nor is one in sight, though in one or two of the largest cities there are political unions of "*obreros*," composed, however, of artisans rather than labourers.

The *consejos* show themselves well versed in self-government, and on the whole, within their unfortunately very restricted powers, do fairly well. The same can hardly be said of all the alcaldes and prefects, generally professional politicians and adherents of the Government, who are apt to be somewhat arbitrary and to exercise their power too much on behalf of their political and personal favourites ; the ruling impression seems to be that the rank and file are not above accepting *douceurs;* but while moral standards are not as high as might be desired, there is no such general corruption as foreigners are apt to imagine. The alcalde, whose functions are of a very varied nature, is a particularly interesting and picturesque personality in the smaller communities. He does not, it is true, sit out of doors dispensing justice in the manner depicted in so many genre paintings of Spain ; but his shaded office, likely as not with large doors swinging right out on the street, and in cool contrast to the glaring heat

out of doors, is almost as picturesque ; there he will sit at his desk, a large plain table, invariably accompanied by the secretary, who is leisurely busy writing out minutes or *diligencias;* only two or three other chairs in the room, several loungers standing about puffing at cigars or cigarettes ; easy of access when in, though he will frequently arrive late, shut up shop for a long midday period, close early, and be not seldom absent from town either on his own business or that of his office : he may have to take long trips to give possession of mines or of public lands, or, in the exercise of police duties or quasi-judicial functions, to view fences or boundaries or watercourses as to which neighbouring landowners are in dispute, or generally "to keep the peace." These and a number of other matters which in Anglo-Saxon countries would be left to the courts, such as deciding as to the infringement of municipal ordinances and imposing fines or even imprisonment, are passed upon administratively by the alcalde. From his decisions there may be appeals to the prefect or to the governor, and finally to the National Government at Bogotá, and in constitutional cases to the courts.

The prefect rules over a larger territory—the province—and the governor over several provinces united as a department. At the present writing there are fifteen departments with capitals and provinces, as shown on pp. 62 and 63.

The departments vary greatly, not alone in population and area, but also in resources. The revenues of none are adequate to proper administration, and the budgets of some strike us as being ridiculously small. The incomes of the departments are raised by a number of makeshift devices, no scientific study of the problems of taxation or even attempt at it having ever been made, as far as I am aware, in Colombia. The National Government is not badly

Departments.	Area.	Population.		Provinces. 5	Number of Municipalities.
		Census of 1896.	Census of 1911.		
	Sq. miles.				
Antioquia ... ... (capital, Medellin)	24,401	648,190	741,816	Centro (Medellin), Oriente (Marinilla), Aures (Sonsón), Fredonia, Suroeste (Jerico), Nordeste (Santa Rosa), Norte (Yarumal), Sopetrán, Occidente (Antioquia), Uraba (Frontino).	85
Atlantico ... ... (capital, Barranquilla)	1,082	112,261	114,887	Barranquilla, Sabanalarga.	19
Bolivar ... ... (capital, Cartagena)	23,938	202,945	425,975	Cartagena, El Carmen, Corozal, Chinú, Sincelego, Magangue, Mompos, Monteria, Sincé (Lorica), San Andres.	58
Boyacá ... ... (capital, Tunja)	17,654	508,989	586,499	Centro (Tunja), Marquéz (Ramiriqui), Occidente (Chiquinquirá), Ricaurte (Moniquira), Oriente (Guateque), Valderrama (Tasco), Norte (Soata), Gutiérrez (Cocuy), Nunchía, Arauca, Neira (Miraflores), Sugamuxi (Sogamoso), Tundama.	128
Caldas ... ... (capital, Manizales)	7,915	246,368	341,198	Manizales, Salamina, Riosucio, Pereira, Manzanares.	29
Cauca ... ... (capital, Popayan)	21,882	211,891	211,756	Camilo Torres (Caloto), Santander, Silvía, Popayan, Caldas (Bolivar).	29
Cundinamarca ... ... (capital, Bogotá)	8,629	632,847	721,615	Bogotá, Oriente (Caquezá), Sumapaz (Fusagusagá), Tequendama (La Mesa), Girardot, Facatativa, Guaduas, Zipaquira, Ubaté, Chocoutá, Guatavita, Guavio (Gacheta).	109
Huila ... ... (capital, Neiva)	8,687	154,641	158,191	Neiva, Garzon, La Plata.	29
Magdalena ... ... (capital, Santa Marta; population, 8,348)	20,463	127,806 (Census of 1905)	149,557	Santa Marta, Padilla (Rio Hacha), Valledupar, Banco, Sur (Rio de Oro).	32

NARIÑO ... ... (capital, Pasto)	10,039	244,330	311,791	Pasto, Túquerres, Ipiales, La Cruz, La Union, Tumaco, Barbacoas, Mocoa.	44
NORTE DE SANTANDER (capital, Cúcuta)	6,708	164,290	204,381	Cúcuta, Pamplona, Ocaña.	28
(PANAMA)	31,917	336,742	—		
SANTANDER ... ... (capital, Bucaramanga)	19,161	377,393	400,084	Bucaramanga, Charalá, Málaga, Piedecuesta, San Andres, San Gil, Socorro, Vélez, Zapatoca.	71
TOLIMA ... ... (capital, Ibagué)	10,811	218,840	283,333	Ibagué, Guamo, Ambalema, Honda, Libano.	37
EL VALLE ... ... (capital, Cali)	4,179	217,096	217,147	Buenaventura, Palmira, Buga, Túlua, Quindió (Cartago), Arboleda (Roldanillo).	29
Intendencia del Meta ...	85,328	7,497	14,220[3]	Villavicencio.	3
Intendencia del Caqueta	187,258	45,856	—		
Intendencia del Choco... (capital, Quibdo)	—	—	66,950[2]	Atrato (Quibdo), San Juan (Istmina).	6
Territory of La Goajira	5,019	75,795	75,795	Cotopriz.	15
Totals	463,155[1]	4,533,777[1]	5,031,850[4]		756

[1] These are the official figures taken from the Boletin del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores. They do not include, it will be noted, the Choco territory.

[2] Including the Comisarias de Jurado and Uraba.

[3] Including the Comisaria de Arauca.

[4] This figure includes the official census of the leper establishments (6,655) not above enumerated. It does not comprise the Caquetá territory (Comisarias de Caquetá, Putumayo, and Vaupes), for which no data were obtained, nor savage tribes of various regions. For these an additional 80,000 to 100,000 may be estimated.

[5] The name of the provincial capital, when not the same as that of the province, is in parentheses.

off, deriving its principal revenue from custom duties and additional income of considerable moment from mines, stamped paper, recording taxes, etc. ; but the departments and municipalities (a few large cities with special sources of revenue apart), never having devised an adequate system of land taxation, are left to levy what little they can by indirect special taxes, often of an unwise and hampering character—*e.g.*, licences restrictive of commerce and industry, slaughter-house fees, tolls, liquor and other monopolies, etc. Land taxes are ridiculously low, but at that, valuations are uneven and consequently unjust, and payment is often evaded. The following balance-sheets [1] of representative departments for 1911 will illustrate the paucity of their resources and how little can be expected in the way of efficient administration and public improvements under the unaided initiative of the departments :

		Dollars.		Dollars.
Magdalena Department	Revenue ... 163,503 Expenses ... 161,192		Surplus	... 2,311
Santander Department	Revenue ... 280,291 Expenses ... 370,056		Deficit	... 89,765

The budget of the Department of Caldas for the fiscal year 1912-13 is more hopeful : estimated revenue $466,192, all of which is appropriated for expenses. The Department of Cundinamarca, the seat of the national capital, naturally commands greater resources : its budget for 1912-13 is $949,348.

The resources of the municipal districts (*municipios*), especially the less populous ones, are even more limited, the revenue *per capita* rarely exceeding a dollar, gold, a year. The following annual in-

[1] Data supplied to the author by the governors.

comes of a few typical districts taken at random are illuminating.[1]

	Population.	Annual Income. Dollars.
Angelopolis	3,407	2,327
Bucaramanga	20,000	19,264
Bosa	3,000	1,604
Corozal	15,492	7,165
Envigado	9,000	9,050
Guaderas	10,145	4,179
Itagué	4,584	3,230
Juan de Acosta	1,500	757
Manizales	34,913	44,720
Palmar de Varela	3,000	2,875
Sabanalarga	15,279	25,000
San Jacinto	6,250	1,906

Therefore this economic helplessness of the departments, coupled with the fact that the governors, prefects, and alcaldes are appointed mediately or immediately by the President, causes all power to be centralized at the national capitol, Bogotá. There, in offices in the new presidential palace, which also serves as his residence, rules the chief Executive of the nation. The palace, centrally located in the city, is of an unpretentious though tasteful exterior ; the interior is wholly charming, with a refreshing flower-filled patio and fountain in the centre, the rooms bright, the whole impressively neat and clean ; the offices possess an air of dignity and quiet constant activity in marked contrast to the typical alcalde's bureau such as we have pictured. Democratic simplicity reigns : a secretary, a chief clerk, and three subordinates are all that are provided for by law. In addition, the President makes use of messengers and a soldier or two attached to the palace, but his chief assistance comes through the various Ministries.

A block away from the palace is the national Capitol, a structure of classical architectural correct-

[1] Data furnished mostly by the alcaldes of the year 1911.

ness fronting on a large, but rather bare plaza or square. The building was erected by General Mosquera, but never fully completed according to his plans ; the interior is unadorned, disappointing, and in need of renovation : in it are housed some of the principal Government offices, and here sits the Legislature.

The Congress is composed of a Senate, whose members are elected for terms of four years by small electoral colleges, elected in their turn by the departmental assemblies, and a House of Representatives (*Camara de Representantes*), one for each 50,000 inhabitants, elected by direct vote for terms of two years. Sessions are held annually, but the President and Ministers (who constitute "*el Gobierno*," the Government) can convoke special sessions. Presidents have also exercised the right, instead of having elections for Congress, of convoking a National Assembly, the membership of which has been appointed by the departmental assemblies, upon whom pressure can be somewhat more readily exerted by the Executive than upon a direct vote at honestly conducted polls. The distinction between a "Congress" and a "National Assembly" is somewhat hard for the foreigner to grasp, especially as the Constitution makes no provision for the latter body, but it is held that the right of the sovereign people to assemble—a right exercised when they adopt the Constitution—is inherent and superior even to the Constitution itself.[1]

[1] It was very frankly stated in the preamble of the Executive Decree convoking such an Assembly in 1905, after a deadlock in Congress, "It is not in the Constitution but in the supreme law of necessity that the basis for an act of such transcendental importance must be sought." And such an Assembly can amend the Constitution without the slower proceedings provided by that instrument itself. In 1886 the President himself designated the membership of the Assembly. When such have been the political practices

The debates in Congress, which are well reported in the daily Press of Bogotá, are interesting, considerable learning and forensic skill being displayed, but it has often proved difficult to obtain concerted action for broad constructive measures : the consequence is that a great deal of the legislation is of trivial character. Laws must be passed by both Houses and receive the approval of the President, who has the right to veto any Bill, but it may be passed over his veto by a two-thirds vote of each House. This right of the Congress to overrule a veto is subject to the restriction that if the Bill be objected to by the President on the ground that it violates the Constitution, then if Congress insist, it passes to the Supreme Court for a final decision as to its validity.[1]

The Supreme Court consists of nine magistrates, four elected by the Senate, five by the House of Representatives, from lists of nominations presented by the President. Its highest function consists in passing upon the constitutionality of laws and executive decrees ; the Constitution expressly provides the " protection of the integrity of the Constitution is entrusted to the Supreme Court of Justice," but the tradition of a strong and independent judiciary is wanting in Colombia, and is likely to be militated against by the short term—five years in the Supreme Court, four years in the Superior Courts—for which the judges are now elected. The judges of the Superior Courts are appointed by the Supreme Court from nominations made by the respective depart-

(and may be again any time in the future, wholly aside from any revolution or dictatorship), one can readily see why it is not to the Constitution alone that we must look for the practical working of the Colombian Government.

[1] This interesting procedure was invoked in respect to the last law (No. 65) passed by the 1911 Congress in regard to appropriations for charities, the Presidential veto being sustained.

mental assemblies ; municipal judges are elected by the town councils. The judges have in the past generally shown themselves subservient to the Executive Power ; when unwilling to bow down, their only recourse has been to resign, not having had strength and support sufficient to make an effective contest.

It is not to the judiciary alone, therefore, that we can look for assurances of stable, orderly, and constitutional government in Colombia. But in litigation not affected by politics, the administration of justice in the upper tribunals throughout the country compares not so unfavourably with that in the majority of countries throughout the globe. The law's delays in civil litigation are a grievance here as elsewhere : the procedure, largely the Spanish procedure with a few modifications copied from the French, is susceptible of many reforms : the clear-cut, snappy " day in court," where witnesses are confronted one with another, examined and subjected to that best of all methods of getting at the truth—a severe cross-examination, followed by the summing-up of the advocates—is unknown ; the examination of witnesses is conducted quietly and slowly, as in our equity procedure, usually by means of written questions read to them by the secretary or clerk of the court, and the answers taken down in longhand with equal deliberation. There being no jury, oral arguments are rare. The procedure does not tend to develop skilful trial lawyers, but there is no dearth of legal ability throughout the country as there is no dearth, either, of lawyers. Those of them who have obtained a University education, and many, by courtesy, who have not, are styled " doctors " : it is a common observation of travellers that in the upper classes every other man seems to be a " *doctor* " ; there are far more lawyers than legal business, and except in the largest towns, they all

resort to other occupations or to their inherited estates for the means of subsistence. At the Universities they receive a sound legal training in fundamental principles of jurisprudence, and the temperament of the Colombians naturally inclines to legal subtlety and astuteness : the less reputable practitioners, versed in all the intricacies and tricks of procedure, are given the picturesque title of *tinterillos*, or ink-slingers, reminiscent of the old Spanish proverb, "*Mucha tinta y poca justicia*"—"Much ink but scant justice" ; but there are plenty of sound lawyers and learned legal writers—in fact, in view of the small population of the country, the production of legal literature is quite remarkable, and betrays a keen interest in problems of jurisprudence. French and Spanish influences are predominant in shaping the law of the country ; the writings of English, American, and German jurists are scarcely known, except as they filter through French sources : on the other hand, French commentators are regarded with high authority, and usually control the decisions of the courts on points where the Colombian Codes are obscure.[1] This is very natural, as the basic one of these Codes, the Civil Code, is largely founded on the Code Napoléon. The Colombian Code is a copy for the most part of the Chilean Code, which was drafted by one of the ablest jurists South America

[1] The principal Colombian Codes have been translated into English as follows : by Frank L. Joannini : *The Civil Code of Panama in Force in the Canal Zone*, and *The Law of Civil Procedure in Force in Panama and the Canal Zone* (a part of the Judicial Code), published by the Isthmian Canal Commission, Washington, D.C., 1905 ; by Edward S. Cox Sinclair : *The Commercial Laws of the World*, vol. ii., *Colombia*, ed. by Dr. A. J. Uribe (London and Boston, U.S.A., 1912) ; by Phanor J. Eder : *The Mining Laws of the Republic of Colombia* (Washington, D.C., 1912). The remaining Codes, not mentioned in the text or this note, are chiefly administrative, viz., the Fiscal Code, the Military Code, the Code of *Fomento*, the Police Code, and the Code of Public Instruction.

has ever produced, Dr. Andres Bello, who modelled his work on the French Civil Code, and incorporated a host of its provisions, but improved on it. As a consequence, Colombia has a clear, harmonious, and scientific body of general law, though of course it cannot equal those monuments of comprehensive, scientific, and thorough jurisprudence, the recent German and Swiss Codes.

The Commercial Codes—there are two, one dealing especially with maritime law—are chiefly based on the Spanish law, though also influenced by the French. They also could be revised with profit to meet modern mercantile conditions : they are pervaded by a certain formalism, not consistent with the elasticity and freedom which modern business development requires, and which is consequently often evaded or neglected in practice. Separate commercial tribunals have not been established, although permitted by the Constitution, and the collection of debts, the settlement of business disputes, and the winding up of insolvent estates is a long, tedious process ; if improvement were made, undoubtedly Colombian merchants could obtain better credits abroad.

The Penal Code, likewise showing strong French influences, is antiquated, but the administration of criminal law is more expeditious than that of civil law, and on the whole, barring a certain inertia on the part of prosecuting officers, is creditable. For the more serious crimes a trial by jury is had, but the jurors are only three is number.

Colombians are essentially a law-abiding people, and the percentage of crime, as far as one can judge in the absence of penal statistics, seems to be small ; petty thievery is common, and convictions therefor hard to obtain ; drunkenness produces much disorder and not a few homicides, but serious, premeditated crimes are rare ; highway robbery, for instance, is

unknown ; one can travel for days on unfrequented roads with valuables in hand, alone and unarmed, yet with a perfect sense of security.

After conviction, the lot of the poor criminal is not an enviable one : Colombian prisons are a disgrace, dirty, unsanitary, full of vermin, without cots (no great hardship, however, as their inmates are accustomed to sleeping on the floor or ground), and rations so scanty and poor that prisoners usually have food brought daily by their family or friends. Reformatories have not been instituted ; prison reform is an unknown idea—in fact, though modern theories of criminology and penology are fairly well known to Colombian thinkers, no practical application has been attempted. There is here a great field, and one foreign to party politics, on which Colombian statesmen and reformers can profitably labour.

CHAPTER VI

FINANCES AND BANKING

COLOMBIA'S paper money is a source of much amusement to the casual traveller who visits its ports for a few hours on one of those delightful Caribbean cruises so enticingly featured by the steamship companies. Upon his return home he will narrate with zest to a circle of friends or perchance readers—for he has been known to write an article or even a book from out the vast knowledge gleaned in those few hours—how he gave a ten-dollar bill or a five-pound note in payment of some small purchase and received hundreds of dollars in change ; he will joke about the " high cost of living," how he paid five dollars for a few oranges, twenty dollars for a bottle of beer, a hundred dollars for a lunch ! But to the business man in Colombia or the statesman grappling with its finances, the paper money is no subject for jest : it presents one of the most serious problems to be dealt with : because of it dire ruin has time and again stared the country in the face. To-day, the monetary situation is somewhat brighter than it has been for years past, but the paper money at best is a grievous nuisance, a clog on the wheels of industry and commerce, and at worst, with its possibilities of violent fluctuations in value, a menace and a blight.

Till about 1881, Colombia had been on a bi-metallic basis ; the currency of the country was

gold and silver and there was no paper. For some years previously prosperity had reigned, the exports were relatively large. But in 1883, notwithstanding the gold basis, foreign exchange was at a premium of 20 per cent. There was a financial crisis. One of the principal exports had been *cinchona* bark—in 1875 over £2,000,000 of that article alone had been exported—but the enormous product from cultivation in Java and the British East Indies reduced the price: whereas in 1879 the sulphate of quinine had reached the high price of 16s. 6d. an ounce, in 1883 it had dropped to 3s. 6d.[1] The low price of coffee and tobacco, the other chief exports of Colombia, added to the gravity of the situation. The balance of trade was against Colombia. Already there had been a constant and progressive exportation of gold currency, as free coinage of both gold and silver was allowed, and the value of silver as prescribed by law and as legal tender was higher than its market value. Soon, little gold being left, the silver money, too, began to leave the country. It is said that during the crisis in 1883 the money in circulation in Bogotá, the capital, a city of 100,000 inhabitants, was reduced as low as $200,000! Private banks began to abuse the right which the law allowed them to issue notes, and still further contributed to the elimination of metallic currency.

After the triumph of Nuñez in the revolution of 1885 and his defeat of the rebels, it was decreed that, dating from May 1, 1886, the monetary unit of the country should be the dollar (*peso*) bill of the National Bank. The Banco Nacional was an institution founded with enormous privileges in 1880

[1] By 1885 the price had dropped to 2s. 6d. an ounce, and the *cinchona* trade received its death-blow in Colombia. Calderon: *La Cuestion Monetaria in Colombia*, 1905, a book to which and to Nieto Caballero's thesis, *El Curso Forzoso y su Historia en Colombia* (Bogotá, 1912), the author is greatly indebted.

by Nuñez ; its shares had been offered to the public, but none were taken : the Government became the sole shareholder, investing $1,047,009.30 out of an authorized capital of $2,500,000. It was given and availed itself of the right to issue bills, *redeemable in specie*. In 1886, however, it was granted the right to issue $4,000,000 in bills, without any obligation to so redeem them. This was the beginning of fiat money in Colombia. By a law of 1881 private banks were bound to accept the National Bank bills at their face value, under penalty of losing their own right to issue notes. Worst of all, it was prohibited by law to make contracts, either for cash or on credit, in any other money.

In spite of this very unsound basis, and of a mass of contradictory and confusing laws and decrees, the country did not very materially suffer for a number of years. There was no excessive issue of paper money, although the amount kept steadily increasing. It enjoyed a certain credit, as it was deemed to be ultimately, even if not immediately, redeemable ; exchange did not greatly fluctuate, paper was almost at a parity with silver.

Nickel pieces were coined, and free coinage of silver, but at ·500 fine, was maintained. In 1892, the President's message reported the base money circulation of the country to be as follows :—

	Dollars.
National Bank bills	12,000,000
Silver coins, ·500 fine	4,243,298
Nickel	3,427,298

Besides this, there was a considerable amount, believed to be some $2,000,000, of paper money illegally issued. Issues continued. In 1894 a law was passed prohibiting any new issue, *except in case of foreign war or internal disturbance*. There was a revolutionary flurry in 1895, so the privilege was availed of. When Caro went out of office in

ON THE LOWER CAUCA RIVER, ANTIOQUIA.

To face p. 74.

1898, there was in circulation, in round numbers, $31,400,000 of the Banco Nacional bills. The next year, a revolution broke out in earnest. The Government needed money, lots of money, to carry on the war. The printing presses were at hand. Nothing could be simpler. Paper money was issued, not merely by the millions, but by the tens and hundreds of millions. The National Government issued it. The Departments issued it. Even some generals in the field issued it. The rate of exchange, which had been from 300 to 335 before the revolution (*i.e.*, a paper dollar had been worth about 30 cents gold, almost on a parity with the silver dollar), began to go up, up, up. In 1900 exchange rose above 1,000—the paper dollar was worth 10 cents gold: by the end of 1901 it had reached 5,000—the dirty sheet was then equivalent to two cents. The most violent fluctuations occurred, thousands of points a day, with the varying successes or rumours of defeat of the Government. In 1902 matters were even worse; exchange rose at one time as high as 26,000—the value of the paper dollar was a mere fraction of a cent! But the Government was triumphing—exchange began to drop. At the end of the war (1903) it was impossible to tell how much paper money was outstanding, what with the various issues and the mass of counterfeits, often better engraved than the genuine. The amount was certainly not less than a billion—the national issues alone, since 1885, amounted to $746,801,420 p/m.[1] There was no pretence, no hope that this would be ever redeemable, but it was legal tender; old debts were paid off in this depreciated currency. The creditor who had loaned a thousand dollars gold, hard cash, had mockingly flung in his face and was by law compelled to receive a thousand *pesos* paper—worth ten dollars!

[1] P/m is the common abbreviation in Colombia for paper money—*papel moneda.*

In the absence of gold and silver, which had entirely disappeared except in a few privileged regions (the Choco, Pasto, and the frontier towns where the inhabitants had obstinately declined paper), some medium of exchange was necessary: by a sort of common consent the paper money was received in trade after the revolution at a rate of exchange fluctuating around 10,000—about a cent on the dollar. At this rate it has ever since remained, with but comparatively slight fluctuations.

A remedy for the more pressing evils had to be found. A law was passed in October, 1903, at the first session of Congress after the revolution, prohibiting further issues of paper money, fixing a gold standard, permitting the circulation of foreign money, making paper money legal tender only at its market rate of exchange, permitting full freedom of contract to stipulate for payment either in gold or paper (*libre estipulacion*), and finally, creating a Council or *Junta* of *Amortization*. This board was authorized to collect certain national revenues, some of which were payable in gold, and it was its duty to auction the gold so received and to burn the paper money received by it as the purchase price of the gold, as well as that received in payment of certain other revenues payable in paper.

By this law, too, customs duties could be paid either in gold or, most important privilege, in paper money at the current rate of exchange. Some tangible value was at last given. Solid land began to appear after the deluge in which all business was drowning. The *Junta de Amortizacion* performed its duties well: weekly, mountains of the fiat money were publicly burned. Its work was cut short, however, by General Reyes, who ordered the funds destined for amortization to be paid into the Treasury for the general expense fund of the nation; to replace the *Junta*, he conceived and carried out the idea of re-establishing

a national bank. It was called the Banco Central and received extraordinary privileges with the object of not only handling the money problem, but of aiding in the solution of the fiscal questions of the Government. Organized by a syndicate of Colombian capitalists—an inner group of friends of the administration and of powerful financial interests—its shares were offered for sale throughout the country, but were not over favourably received. Of the authorized and intended capital of $8,000,000 gold (80,000 shares at $100 each), only some 31,925 shares were eventually taken, $50 a share being payable cash down, the remaining $50 to be subject to call by the Board of Directors, but it has never been called. Among the duties or rights of the bank—to enumerate all its extraordinary privileges would be a lengthy task—were: to collect certain of the Government revenues, receiving a commission of 10 per cent. of the net proceeds for so doing, the expense of collection being for account of the Government; to exchange the current paper money for a new, well-engraved edition ordered from England; to be the Government depositary; to loan the Government (from its own revenues in process of collection, it will be noted) moneys necessary to pay the interest on the foreign debt and to arrange such payment; to issue bank-notes, to the exclusion of all other institutions, to twice the amount of its paid-up capital, keeping a cash reserve in gold or Government paper equivalent to only 30 per cent. of the amount issued; telegraph and postal franks and minor exemptions from customs dues and recording fees; to do all in its power to maintain the rate of exchange at 10,000; to amortize the Government paper money with 25 per cent., to be increased later to 50 per cent., of certain of the revenues it collected; and to open a blank credit to the Government of $1,000,000, to be increased later to $2,000,000.

The bank certainly rendered many useful services to the Government and to the country, not the least of which were in paying the interest on the foreign debt, in powerfully contributing to the stability of exchange, and in reducing the rate of interest, which at the time of its foundation was currently 2 per cent., and had reached as high as 7 per cent. a month, to 1 per cent. a month and even less for prime bills and discounts. But the extraordinary privileges it possessed, the suspicion that many stockholders were making fortunes out of the Government without having put up any actual cash for their shares, and the reaction against all the Reyes' policies, easily explain the opposition it aroused. After the retirement of Reyes, consequently, the Government contract with the bank was rescinded; any damages to which it might be entitled for such reason were to be set off by interest which the new Government claimed to be due to the Treasury. The Central was continued thereafter merely as a private bank on the same footing as other banks.

Subsequent laws to that creating the Banco Central, by fixing the legal equivalence of paper for gold at the rate of 10,000 for the payment of duties, taxes, and many other purposes, have helped to maintain the stability of that ratio; and by legislation also the outworn, dirty old bills have been replaced by newer issues (the last edition was engraved in the United States) and a small amount of nickel and silver currency has been coined and put into circulation. The most recent important law dealing with the currency is No. 69 of 1909, which created a Conversion Board—*Junta de Conversion*—modelled somewhat on the lines of the former *Junta de Amortizacion*, charged with the duty of exchanging old bills for new and for silver (900 fine) and nickel, and of taking such steps as may be deemed proper to avoid fluctuations in exchange.

The old Government Mint at Medellin has recently been re-opened also for the coinage of gold ; but gold coin can be exported as easily as gold dust and bars, and of course will be whenever the foreign rate of exchange makes it profitable to do so.

The insufficiency of the total amount of money in circulation for the needs of the country's business has, however, been disturbing. On the other hand, the provisions of the last-named law, by which certain Government revenues (namely, the product of the emerald mines of Muzo and Coscuez and of certain other mines, the 2 per cent. surcharge on customs, the premium on coinage of silver and nickel, and, looking to the future, returns from the cession of the right to issue bank-notes and any possible surplus) are set aside to form a metallic reserve to guarantee the conversion of the paper money, coupled especially with the improving condition of the national finances, have been the greatest factors of late in maintaining the stability of exchange at near the legal rate.

To effect an improvement in the nation's balance-sheet has been no easy task. One serious difficulty that the Government has to contend with is the great unpopularity, among the classes wielding political influence, of any policy of economy. The reduction of salaries to the level of the actual worth of the services rendered, or even the suppression of useless posts, meets with decided opposition. The late Minister of the Exchequer (*Hacienda*) bitterly complains : [1] "It is undeniable that the number of public employees is excessive, and that in general they work less and get better pay than similar employees in private industry. For more than twenty years, the complaint has been formulated that the force of officials is continually increasing without any real need. . . . The more employees there are, the

[1] Tomas O. Eastman, Report, January 12, 1911.

more urgent becomes the clamour for more offices and higher salaries. Hands are thus taken from industry ; the bureaucracy attains an uncontrollable influence, and becomes a social calamity ; the public gets false notions as to the legitimate mission of the Government, and favours hare-brained political adventurers." It has been the policy of the present administration to introduce such economies in the Civil Service as were reasonably possible under the laws, but patient diplomatic efforts are still necessary, as an avalanche of discontented or discharged office-holders and their hosts of friends, relatives, and sympathizers might overwhelm the Government. In the purchase of supplies and the letting of public contracts generally, however, the administration has been able to act with a firmer hand with less opposition, and in this regard there has been a notable economy and a notable increase in the " value received " by the Government.

In the face of an income calculated for 1911 at $9,779,500 and authorized expenditures of $11,768,450, the Executive scaled down the expenses of the various branches as it was permitted to do by law, not only to the extent necessary to avoid that deficit, but also an additional $841,811 : expenses were cut down $2,830,761, to the figure of $8,937,688.40—certainly an economical sum for a nation of nearly five million inhabitants. The revenue, too, has been above the estimated figure. In 1910 the Government revenues were $12,220,760 : in 1911, $12,685,119.66,[1] so that for the first time

[1] In detail (some consular and customs returns still incomplete) as follows : Customs duties, port fees, etc., $9,072,099 ; consular fees, $451,273 ; posts and telegraphs, $455,831 ; succession duties, $85,285 ; Sabaná railroad, $263,203 [of which $234,630 was spent on betterments] ; national properties, $10,323 ; patent and trademark fees, $486 ; marine salines, $598,716 ; terrestrial salt mines and springs, $797,958 ; mining taxes and leases, $49,158 [no return from emerald

in a great number of years Colombia can rejoice at a surplus instead of lamenting a deficit.

If this austere policy of puritanical economy could only be maintained, Colombia's financial future would be not merely satisfactory, but brilliant. The national debt, which is less than $24,000,000, could be amply secured, and the paper money, which is less than $12,000,000 (in its equivalent in gold at the current rate of exchange), be amortized. The placing of a new loan, consolidating the various scattered items of indebtedness now outstanding, some of them at high rates of interest, would materially assist the problem.

The resources of the country are daily developing, its income daily increasing, yet its national debt *per capita* remains one of the smallest of any of the American nations. There is scarcely a country in the world, therefore, which offers to the enterprising financier a better field for a large bank and loan venture, with a high and legitimate profit and a fair margin of safety.

Diplomacy of a high order is, however, required to carry through negotiations to a successful termination ; the Colombian Government and people, it must be confessed, are not easy to negotiate with, and cannot easily be made to perceive the standpoint of the foreign banker and investor ; they are not willing to jump at the first offer of a loan, on any terms whatsoever ; some clauses in contracts which the foreign banker, in view of his home markets, insists upon, the Colombian is loath to grant ; for instance, the very reasonable requirement that upon default in the payment of interest the principal shall become due and payable meets with violent opposition and opprobrium, even from the able Minister

mines] ; stamp taxes and law paper, $476,680 ; cigarettes and matches, $56,060 ; territorial revenues [Choco and Meta], $59,022 ; river navigation tax, $116,918 ; miscellaneous revenues, $191,102.

whose report I have quoted. Who wills the end, wills the means ; conversely, who does not will the means, does not will the end, and we are often forced to the conclusion that Colombia, rejecting the only possible means, does not at heart really desire foreign capital.

Whether or not a new loan be floated, the outlook for the foreign bondholders is favourable, which accounts for the rise in the quotations of these bonds from 20 in 1904 to 50 at the present day ; a still further rise can be looked forward to. In the past, however, the history of the foreign debt has been a sad one, both for Colombia and for her creditors. The writer of the article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (11th ed.) rightly said, " In financial matters, Colombia is known abroad chiefly through repeated defaults in meeting her bonded indebtedness, and through the extraordinary depreciation of her paper currency " ; but in the past few years she has gone far towards redeeming her former evil reputation.

The greater part of the foreign debt dates back to the improvident loans obtained at the time of the Independence ; very little of the money for which Colombia became indebted was actually received by the nation ; heavy initial discounts, commission and brokerage, padded expense charges, and a certain amount of peculation reduced the cash received to a low figure : unpaid interest, accumulated till it overshadowed the original debt, was from time to time added to the principal. Consequently not an iota of benefit to the present generation is represented by this debt. On the other hand, a compensation has been obtained by the very extensive scaling down of principal and accrued interest to which the bondholders have at different times consented. In 1845, New Granada recognized as its share of the debt of *La Gran Colombia,* and issued new bonds for,

£3,776,791. Interest payments were not kept up. In 1860 the debt reached £4,800,000: in 1873, £6,630,000, from which figure it was scaled down to £2,000,000: in 1896, what with unpaid interest, it had reached £3,514,442; part of the accrued interest was again released, and the balance added to the principal, totalling £2,700,000. The agreement of 1896 was renewed and amended in 1905 by agreement with the Council of Foreign Bondholders, and since that year the interest, reduced to 3 per cent. per annum, has been paid in full, together with commissions and an amount for amortization, latterly with the most scrupulous punctuality. The 1905 agreement left the principal intact at £2,700,000; of the accrued interest, amounting to £351,000, 70 per cent. has been paid; the remaining 30 per cent. is to be paid only if Colombia obtains damages from the United States on account of its Panama claim. A distinct advantage was gained by the bondholders in this 1905 settlement—known as the Avebury-Holguin Agreement—in securing a pledge of 12 per cent. (or 15 per cent. if the collections fall below $5,000,000) of the customs revenues.[1]

The internal debt of Colombia consists of the paper currency, which is now definitely recognized as a national obligation, and sundry items, chiefly for expropriations and military services during the last revolution, amounting to $1,315,751.10, gold (£263,150), for the redemption of which drawings are being held monthly, averaging about $42,000

[1] The contract was severely criticized by opponents of the Reyes administration as giving an undue preference to the foreign bondholders over domestic and general creditors of Colombia, and as made in the interests of speculating "insiders." For a lively *post mortem* discussion, see Santiago Perez Triana's pamphlets: *Desde Lejos; Desde Lejos y Desde, Cerca*; *Dos Cartas*, and the replies of Jorge Holguin: *Desde Cerca, Cosasdel Dia*—1907 to 1910.

(£8,400). In addition the Government occasionally borrows from local banks, and its credit is now good enough to enable it to do so without pledging any specific securities. On January 31, 1912, these outstanding loans from Bogotá banks amounted to $262,297.29 (£52,459.83).

At the present day none of the banks in Colombia are banks of issue, nor is it at all likely that such a privilege will be given them for many years to come. The public distrust incited by the past history of bank-notes is too potent to be overcome by any but a strong syndicate of foreign investors establishing a national bank, under contract with the Government, with such large capital and a directorate so above suspicion as to command absolute and unswerving confidence. It is not unlikely that a national bank of issue of this character will sooner or later be established, probably in conjunction with the refunding of the national debt. Tentative negotiations, I understand, have been quietly undertaken by two or three eminent international bankers, but have come to nothing. The few banks now existing in the country are private institutions pure and simple. No Governmental supervision whatsoever is exercised, nor would it be practicable in the present state of the country's development. Not only are the quasi-public functions of banks unrecognized, but the people at large have not, except to a small degree in the largest cities, been educated up to their uses. Payments by cheque are very limited, thus throwing the entire burden for smaller ordinary transactions upon the currency of the country as sole medium of exchange ; this, taken at its gold equivalent of ten or twelve million dollars, is utterly insufficient for the business needs of a nation of more than five million inhabitants widely scattered, especially when the shipment of currency from place to place is impeded both by its bulk and by the inadequacy of

BANCO COMERCIAL, BARRANQUILLA.

BANCO DE COLOMBIA, BOGOTÁ.

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transportation facilities. In consequence, in larger transactions (for example, sales of real estate, herds of cattle, or wholesale quantities of merchandise), though in nowise partaking of an international character, settlements are commonly made by bills of exchange on Europe or the United States. Drafts not infrequently pass through a number of hands, serving as a medium of exchange for merchants and cattle-dealers at fairs or markets, go from town to town, and are in circulation for weeks, even months, before being finally transmitted for collection.

The smaller towns have no banks at all ; even some of the important centres, like Santa Marta and Bucaramanga, have none. Where banking institutions do exist, a large share of the business is nevertheless absorbed by private mercantile houses, and some so-called banks are purely one-man, one-firm, or one-family institutions. These and also the majority of banks in which the stock is more widely distributed compete with private firms in a great variety of commercial transactions ; even buying, selling, and exporting products, and speculating heavily in exchange. Only a few of the banks are conservative, and confine themselves to the strictly banking business of receiving deposits, loaning funds, and selling exchange, and even in some of these carefully managed institutions inner cliques are apt to rule things their own way and for their own benefit. The fiduciary relation of the banker to depositors and the public has been scarcely recognized, and consequently there is as yet a lack of confidence which has hindered the development of the banking system.

Only rudimentary attempts at establishing savings or mortgage banks have been made ; the latter are especially needed for the proper agricultural development of the country. Such capital as is invested in

CHAPTER VII

TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION

IN the matter of transportation Colombia is still in the Middle Ages. Only a few hundred miles of railroads are in operation; wagon roads are few and far between and travelled chiefly by ox-carts; the mule roads are rough trails, often impassable in the rainy season; bridges are sorely needed in many localities; scarcely more than half a dozen of the principal rivers know the whistle of the steamboat; many sections of the country can be reached only by dug-out canoes or by explorers' trails through virgin forest. The horse or saddle mule for travellers, our patient friend the sumpter-mule, or occasionally other pack animals (ox, horse, *burro*, man, or even woman), for goods—these constitute, first and foremost, Colombia's present-day transportation system.

But if the traveller can free his mind from the slavery of time, as, followed by his faithful page, he journeys his leisurely thirty miles a day over mountains and through charming Andean valleys, sometimes rising before dawn or riding by the light of the moon to escape the midday blaze of the lowlands, stopping at primitive inns which seem to have about them a whiff from the pages of *Don Quixote* or *Gil Blas*, or at still more primitive huts bordering on the aboriginal that serve as customary shelters for the wayfarer, he feels a charm that compensates for

TRANSPORTING HEAVY MACHINERY ACROSS THE ANDES.

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the deprivation of the swift trains, luxurious sleeping-cars, and sybaritic hostelries of modernity.

But business, modern civilization, clamours for transportation facilities. On every side the development of the country's natural resources is hindered by lack of roads—rich mines to which machinery cannot be taken except at frightful cost, forests of valuable timber too remote from the seas or navigable rivers to be available for international trade, agricultural lands that could supply a large share of the world's tropical products, did not the freights eat up the profits—these lie fallow and unworked. Dozens of articles that the country itself produces, prime necessities like salt, sugar, rice, flour, potatoes, are imported from abroad because that is cheaper, despite high duties, than transporting them from one part of the country to another. Roads and railroads are indeed the crying need.

The best way perhaps to impress upon the reader the present conditions of travel in Colombia is to take him in these pages on a journey from north to south, from the Caribbean Sea to the Ecuadorian frontier and out again by the Pacific Ocean, on just such a trip as an efficient commercial traveller would make through the country; and perhaps I may be able to throw out a hint or two that will be of value to the novice who is planning a business visit to Colombia.[1]

We arrive on Colombian soil at either Cartagena or Savanilla (Puerto Colombia), the chief ports on the Caribbean, both connected by rail with the main artery of trade in Colombia, the Magdalena River. Both ports are in very frequent communication with Europe, the United States, and the West Indies, and

[1] The explorer will have his own ideas; but a useful note of warning, with valuable hints, from that experienced explorer, Dr. Hamilton Rice, is sounded in the July, 1912, issue of the *Bulletin* of the Pan American Union, p. 96.

are regular ports of call for the Royal Mail lines from Southampton and New York, the Hamburg American lines from New York (Atlas service) and Hamburg, the Leyland and Harrison lines from Liverpool, the United Fruit boats from New York, and the steamers of the French *Compagnie Generale Transatlantique*, the Italian *La Veloce*, and the Spanish *Compañia Trasatlantica*.

At Savanilla, or more strictly speaking Puerto Colombia, for the old port and town of Savanilla is at a little distance, a pier, a mile long, constructed on iron screwpiles, one of the best of its kind in the whole world, was built in 1893 by the *Barranquilla Railway and Pier Company*, an English company, under the supervision of that veteran of engineering in Colombia, Mr. John B. Dougherty. The pier, a first-class modern structure, with four lines of rails at the head, can accommodate four large steamers at a time. The road to Barranquilla, 17½ miles, is a single-track line covered in an hour's run by three trains daily each way. The capital of the company is £200,000 and its bonded indebtedness £100,000. Its operation has always been profitable, and despite the competition of the Cartagena railroad it secures nearly half the total exports and imports (in value) of Colombia. In 1905 the road carried 76,464 tons ; in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1910, 76,665 tons, net revenue £21,997 ; 1911, 91,969 tons, net revenue £25,668 ; 1912, 96,000 tons and 110,000 passengers.

Barranquilla, with which the line is connected, is the principal river port on the Magdalena, and it is here that one takes steamer for the long journey up that river. Its only rival is Calamar, in itself unimportant, but the terminus of the competing railroad from Cartagena. This line (65 miles long) and the wharf at Cartagena were built by allied American corporations, under favourable concessions, which included

control of the wharfage, lighterage and towing privileges in the harbour of Cartagena and a subsidy of $8,000 a kilometre. The concessions and properties are now owned by an English company, *The Cartagena Railway Company, Ltd.*, with a capital of £750,000 and a bonded debt of £600,000. In 1905 the road carried 34,669 tons ; in 1910, 36,236. It will be readily seen, from its greater length, debt, and the inferiority of Calamar, that this railroad is at a disadvantage in competing with the Barranquilla line for the traffic from the Magdalena River. Cartagena, however, is a sheltered harbour, whereas Puerto Colombia is an open roadstead ; there is always danger, too, that owing to the rapid formation of sand-bars at the latter place the magnificent pier may some day become inaccessible to any but vessels of light draught.

The commercial traveller must visit both Cartagena and Barranquilla, and it is a matter of little moment to which he goes first. Cartagena is the cooler and more interesting ; on the other hand, if one has to wait for a river steamer, it is preferable to do so at Barranquilla rather than at Calamar, where accommodations are of the poorest.

A little east of Barranquilla and accessible to it by launches running on the delta channels of the Magdalena is the port of Santa Marta, an early rival of Cartagena, which sank into utter commercial lethargy until recently revived by the new banana industry that has grown by leaps and bounds in the last ten years. Santa Marta is now regularly visited by the steamers of the United Fruit Company and its subsidiary, the Elders and Fyffes line, which runs to Liverpool, and by the Hamburg American boats. The bananas and other local products are brought to the sea by the Santa Marta Railway, which operates 58 miles of track, including short branches to tap banana sections, and extends to the

River Fundacion. The line is run by an English company, *The Santa Marta Railway Company, Ltd.*, which has issued £200,000 ordinary shares, £159,170 7 per cent. preferred shares, and £147,200 6 per cent. debentures. Its traffic in 1905 was 29,442 tons, gross receipts in 1909, £69,823, net £18,806; 1910, gross £94,590, net £18,089; for the nine months ending September 30, 1911, gross, £84,100, net £10,514. The steady increase in business has been due to the growth of the banana industry. It was originally projected to extend to the Magdalena, at the town of Banco, near where the river Cesar flows into the great stream, a total distance from Santa Marta of about 135 miles, all of which has been surveyed. The original concession was granted in 1881 and the early days of the road were full of misfortunes; cyclones, revolutions, financial crises destroyed its property or delayed its progress; the policy of the Government towards it has been a shifting one, now inclined to listen to the clamours of the local population, again reluctant to have the line pushed to completion for fear of creating a ruinous competition to the Cartagena and Barranquilla companies and of becoming obligated to pay the large subsidies to which the enterprise is entitled for every kilometre opened to traffic. Moreover, various controversies have arisen between the company and the Government, still pending unsettled, chief among which is as to whether a provision in the original concession by which the Government has the right to purchase the completed road for £400,000 has been impliedly repealed by subsequent contracts or not. Until an explicit declaration is obtained on this point, it would be folly for the company to spend a million pounds or so, the estimated cost of the completed road, in order to turn it over to the nation at a future date at less than half the cost.

Arrived at the Magdalena River by any of the

routes mentioned, we embark on one of the flat-bottomed, three- to five-foot draught stern-wheeler steamers of the Mississippi River type, which compose the fleets of the steamship combination effected a few years ago by the alliance of the Colombian Navigation Company, Ltd., the Magdalena River Steamboat Company, Ltd., and the *Empresa Colombiana de Navegacion Fluvial*, or we may favour one of the smaller rival companies.[1] The boats vary greatly in size, speed, finish, and conveniences. The best are the newer boats which are used on the weekly mail express service ; they are the largest and built to be the speediest ; but the race is not always to the swift, and often in the dry season, when the river runs low, one makes better time in the smaller boats, which can navigate when the large vessel is fast on a sandbank for days at a time waiting for a rise. During an extremely dry spell one may have to wait weeks. In the early part of 1912 nearly a month elapsed without a steamer getting up the river. Normally it takes about nine or ten days upstream to reach La Dorada, the head of navigation on the lower river, distant 600 miles from Barranquilla. Innumerable obstacles and delays account for the length of the journey. The current is about three miles an hour, in some places even five or six ; only in the first part of the trip can the boats travel at night, for as one goes upstream, what with the shifting channel, varying after every freshet, the sand-bars and shallows during the dry season and the logs and other obstructions floated down at high water, it becomes too hazardous to risk navigation after dark. A great deal of time, too, is wasted, stops of an hour or more being frequently made for the purpose of taking on fuel. The boats burn wood, which is piled up in readiness, cut

[1] These are the Compañia Antioqueña, the Compañia Rosa Perez, and the Hanseatica.

into the proper lengths, at frequent landings on the river banks : the loading is entirely by hand and conducted leisurely ; much longer stops are also made at the various " ports "—often merely a convenient mooring-place with a hut or two and corrugated iron sheds —where passengers and freight are taken on or off. Downstream, the current aiding, the trip is very much shorter, usually five or six days if all's well, and consequently far pleasanter, as the long up-river journey, in spite of the charm of the scenery, the diversity of vegetation and of animal life, and the daily incidents at the little villages, palls on all but the most enthusiastic nature-lovers, who alone find sufficient compensation for the many discomforts. A stifling heat often prevails, the mosquitoes are a pest, the food bad ; save on the newest boats, dirt prevails ; the lavatories especially are unspeakable, and impress one forcibly with the truth of the remarks of the innkeeper in Octave Mirbean's *La X-628* as to what " *nous Latins, nous ne savons pas.*"

The traveller should take his own cot or hammock and linen and a blanket or rug, for it is wise to put up with the extra heat in order to guard one's self against the chilling dampness which at night and early morning arises from the water. A mosquito bar is indispensable both for comfort and health, and a gauze head-net and gloves for evening wear are advisable as additional safeguards against the plaguy insects. One's own supply of ice and bottled waters should be laid in before sailing, and it is well also to help out the often unpalatable and badly cooked food with canned goods and delicacies. These things can be purchased at Barranquilla or Cartagena ; the cot and mosquito bars as well as your other travelling equipment you had better buy at home.

While on this subject, it may be well to mention what the traveller bound for a long journey in

Colombia should take ; namely, both light and heavy clothing and underwear, as he will encounter extremes of climate ; a saddle of small girth, as the horses are small ; the cot, mosquito bars, and blankets already mentioned—the best mosquito canopy is the kind that closes like an umbrella, and to inspect it after retiring an electric pocket-lamp is handy ; the cot should be a light, folding one (some experienced travellers prefer a hammock or an air mattress) ; one's kit should also include high gaiters, reaching above the knee, and a *poncho*—a large waterproofed sheet with a hole in the middle for the head, which buttons tightly around the neck, hangs from the shoulders like a cape, protects both rider and horse from torrential rains, and when not in use is conveniently strapped to the saddle. The medicine chest for ordinary travel need only contain quinine pills (five grains should be taken every morning after breakfast or ten grains twice a week, in malarial districts), bismuth, or sun cholera mixture, calomel tablets, some essential oil, like oil of lavender, boric acid for prickly heat, a little ammonia, alcohol, vaseline. With a few simple precautions in the matter of food and drink, avoiding mosquitoes and exposure to sudden cold or wet, and by generally following the dictates of a prudent common sense, the traveller need have no fear for his health in Colombia.

Thus equipped, the traveller is ready to leave the Magdalena boat at any of the landing-places, set out on a horseback journey to some interior point, or embark on the smaller steamers or launches which navigate the tributaries of the Magdalena—tributaries leading to various more or less important parts of the country, *e.g.*, at Banco for the River Cesar and the fertile but little developed Dupar Valley ; at Cauca, near the old town of Mompox, for the Cauca and Nechi boats, serving a rich mining section (the Magdalena boats usually take advantage of the

superior navigation afforded, and sail for a day on the Cauca, passing the town of Magangué and rejoining the main stream further south by another *brazo* or arm) ; at Nare for Ocaña, at Bodega Central for the River Lebrija *en route* to Bucaramanga, etc. On these smaller boats, it is needless to say, the discomforts are magnified.

It is not till we reach Puerto Berrio, 500 miles from Barranquilla, that we again see a locomotive. Here begins the important Antioquia railroad to Medellin, which will probably be completed, except the part crossing the summit of the range, before this book is published. The concession and the management are directly in the hands of the Departmental Government ; the road to-day (after the usual Colombian railroad history of delays, disappointments, engineering difficulties, and even litigation [1]) is one of the best and best run in the country, and offers a striking instance of what *can* be done by the Colombians if they will only apply themselves, in a spirit of co-operation, to the enterprise in hand. The completed road will be about 120 miles in length. As it taps one of the most populous and at the same time the most thriving, energetic, and industrious sections in the whole country, its financial future seems assured, though the freight being actually carried to-day is small ; in 1905 only 11,084 tons were carried ; in 1911, 20,544 tons. The great engineering problem has been at La Quiebra, and various solutions, such as switchbacks and cog-rails, were proposed, but it has been finally decided, I am informed, to eventually tunnel through the mountain obstruction, and for

[1] In 1892, a contract was entered into with the English firm of Punchard, McTaggart, Louther & Co., but being rescinded the following year by the Government, gave rise to a claim for damages, which was finally settled by arbitration, heavy damages being awarded to the firm.

STREET IN BARRANQUILLA.

THE PORT OF BARRANQUILLA.

MAGDALENA RIVER STEAMERS.

To face p. 96.

the present to build a good road (18 miles) for carts, automobiles, and traction engines.

A 3-foot gauge railroad is also in process of construction from Medellin through Amagá to the Cauca River, a distance of 52 miles, of which 19 are built, to Caldas. In the first six months of 1912 it carried 333,340 passengers, with gross receipts therefrom of $40,000. The company is entirely Colombian, with a subscribed capital of one million dollars, of which one-half has been paid in. It has no bonded debt or encumbrances. A number of fairly good cart-roads and bridle-tracks lead out from Medellin to the surrounding country ; on one of these even a regular auto service has been established ; the cart-roads, however, are short, and the mule-trails, too (the most travelled is the " royal highway " south to Manizales and the Cauca Valley), soon degenerate into that usual type of Colombian road whose praises I am reserving until the reader has left the Magdalena behind him for good and all.

Let us, then, imagine ourselves back on the Magdalena, and arriving, a day after leaving Puerto Berrio, at *La Dorada,* the head of navigation on the lower river. We have come 600 miles from Barranquilla, and still a few days' travel and many changes are ahead of us before we reach Bogotá, the capital. First comes the Dorada Railway, built to circumvent the rapids which render dangerous further navigation upstream. This line was built by the English *Dorada Railway Company,* and runs past a little beyond Honda, an important river port, to a point called Arranca Plumas (22 miles), whence the steamers can sail with safety on the upper Magdalena. As all the freight and passengers from the Bogotá plateau and from the upper Magdalena section have to pass on this railroad, and much traffic is gained also from Manizales and across the Quindio, this road, charging high freights in the bargain, has had

no difficulty in showing a profit, although at one time the former Cartagena steamboat line, as part of a trade war, sent its steamers beyond La Dorada and deprived the railroad of considerable freight. The railroad is now owned by the *Dorada Extension Railway, Ltd.*, which operates an extension of 51 miles as far as Ambalema, another town of some importance on the Magdalena, in the heart of a rich agricultural section, and is intended to eventually connect with the Girardot Railway, of which we shall soon speak. The capital of the combined Dorada companies is £350,000, and their outstanding bonded indebtedness is £350,000. In 1905 the traffic of the original road (Honda to La Dorada) was 48,145 tons ; in 1910, 50,764 tons.

At Honda you have a choice of two ways to Bogotá ; you can take the mule-road, and if the season is favourable and the road is reported to be in good condition, it is advisable to do so, for you view magnificent scenery, the inns are the most comfortable in Colombia, and you get away the sooner from the intense heat of the valley and ever-present possibility of malaria or other fevers into the refreshing coolness of the Andes ; or you can take a steamer to Girardot, whence a railroad, 82 miles long, takes you to the Sabana of Bogotá. The road was completed in 1909, at last fulfilling the long cherished hope of the Bogotanos for a route to the sea *sans* mule or horse. One enthusiastic writer, in a serious official publication, spoke of the inauguration of the line as "the event of most transcendental importance in our national life since the Independence." But the desired practical mercantile results have not been produced : there has been no general reduction of freight rates ; the road is being run at a loss ; it is mortgaged far beyond its actual value, there being four series of mortgage bonds aggregating £1,480,000 ; the interest on the first, third, and

fourth mortgages is guaranteed by the Government. The second mortgage debenture holders have recently obtained the appointment of a Receiver in the English Courts. Landslides have been frequent, due largely to errors, waste, and false economies in construction, which have made the cost of maintenance relatively enormous, while the gross receipts are small—$297,291.07 in 1910, only some 12,000 tons of freight being carried, more than half the traffic still going by way of the old Honda mule-trail and by the Camboa cart-road, which also connects the Sabana with the Magdalena. To properly reconstruct and equip the line, it is estimated that an additional £150,000 at least is required. The worst feature is that the road is a narrow gauge, 3-foot road, whilst the Sabana line which it joins at Facatativa is 3 feet 6 inches wide. Blundering, inexcusable lack of foresight! The owner is the Colombian National Railway Company, Ltd., of London, with a capital stock of £900,000, one-third of which is held by the Colombian Government itself, received as a part of the consideration for its guarantee of interest on the bonds. The engineering difficulties were considerable but not extraordinary: the highest grade is 4 per cent. the maximum altitude reached a little under 9,000 feet (2,729 metres), Girardot being at an altitude of 1,056 feet above sea-level.

Facatativa, on the tableland of Bogotá, is connected with that city by the Sabana Railway (25 miles), one of the three which form the network of lines on the Cundinamarcan plateau; the other two are the Northern (*del Norte*) and Southern (*del Sur*), and adequately supply the transportation needs of that populous section. These railroads, situated high up in the Andes, are remarkable as having been built before the Sabana was connected with the Magdalena: the rails and heavy rolling stock were transported almost entirely by mules. The cost can

be imagined—the transportation alone of each locomotive cost seven to ten thousand dollars. Of these three roads the Government owns outright the *Sur* (15 miles), which it purchased in 1905, a year prior to its completion, for approximately £60,000 ($30,000,000 p/m), and holds practically all the capital stock in the Sabana Company; the *Norte* alone (40 miles) is owned and operated by a private company, *The Colombian Northern Railway Company, Ltd.* The projected extension of its road to Chiquinquira, where it will eventually connect with the Puerto Wilches and Bucaramanga line, is in the hands of the Colombian Central Railway Company, Ltd. (capital, £300,000). It is almost needless to say that the stock capitalization of many of these Colombian roads largely represents promoters' interests and not actual cash invested, and that the bond issues have been placed at very large initial discounts. The Sabana railroad is mortgaged by the Government for a bonded loan of an authorized total of £300,000, but of which, according to the latest information I have at hand, only £187,000 par value of bonds had been placed. The *Sur*, after its purchase by the Government, was transferred to an English Company, *The Colombian Southern Railway, Ltd.*, but the sale was subsequently rescinded. The traffic of the road in 1905 was 13,200 tons; in 1908, 21,600 tons, 84,190 passengers, and total gross receipts $54,078.77. The *Norte* makes a better showing: 1905, 18,000 tons; 1908, 376,426 passengers (statistics of freight show only number of packages, not weights); gross receipts $223,801.79, four times those of the *Sur*, although the road is only twice as long: it traverses a more populous section, and carries the coal and salt from the mines at Zipaquira and Nemocón. The Sabana railroad, with only 25 miles, does even better: its business in 1905 was 55,244 tons; in 1908 over

380,000 passengers, and total gross receipts $228,181.99.

These railroads, though hard to build, are easy of upkeep and operation: the grades are slight; abundant coal is ready at hand; there is no fear of the disastrous freshets and landslides that play havoc with the lines that climb the Andean slopes; and it must be said in justice that they give the public fair service, and at rates that are if anything in some schedules too low. Passenger rates, for instance, range from about 1 cent (3rd class) to 3 cents (1st class) a mile; freight rates, however, are by the ton, from 7 cents to 30 cents a mile.

Before again setting out from Bogotá, let us stop to count the changes that we, and our baggage, and our merchandise have made to get here—from ocean-steamer to train, train to river-steamer, again to train, once more to river-steamer, thence to train, and finally to still another train. At least *seven* times, then (assuming, contrary to fact, that it be carried direct from boat to car and car to boat), does freight have to be handled to reach its destination. The cost? Naturally, stupendous. From ocean to capital 600 miles, roughly speaking, from thirty to sixty dollars a ton, depending on the class of merchandise.

The Sabana of Bogotá, with the usual greater liberality that a capital accords to its environs at the expense of remoter regions, is well supplied with roads—some are excellent examples of road-making—the more part good in the dry, difficult in the rainy, season, for which reason perhaps it is that the ox-cart prevails; horses and mules as draught animals have not been fully naturalized even in this, the most civilized district of our country. Arrived at the terminus of the Northern Railway, we can travel, too, on the only good road of any considerable length that Colombia boasts—the *Gran*

Carretera Central del Norte, the Great Central Cart-road of the North, which stretches out northwards, well graded, well laid, and, until very recently at least, well maintained, through the populous towns of the departments of Boyacá and Cundinamarca, for a distance of nearly 200 miles. This highway, like many of the railroads of which we have been speaking, owes much to the administration of General Reyes, who, as President, had the pleasure of traversing it soon after its completion in an automobile, going from Bogotá to Santa Rosa in five hours. A regular motor-bus service was soon after inaugurated between those two places.

Steeply up and steeply down, over the cross ridges of the Eastern Cordillera, but no longer over a good road, our mules can reach Bucaramanga, the centre of an important coffee district, whose inhabitants are longing with eager hopes for the completion of a railroad from the Magdalena, starting at a point called Puerto Wilches. Judging by the history of other railways in Colombia and by the difficulties, some legal, some political, raised by the Government (now happily on the point of settlement), to say nothing of the usual engineering problems and other troubles of Andine construction, which have already harassed the concessionaire, the *Great Central Northern Railway Company, Ltd.*, of London, it may be many a weary year before the townspeople of Bucaramanga can desert their mules and the boats on the River Lebrija, which they now use for descent to the Magdalena. The company is organized with a capital stock of £495,000, practically all promoters' shares, of which £50,000 were assigned to the Government ; it has so far completed some 12½ miles of track, which is mortgaged along with the concession and other property for bond issues of £506,760, interest on some of which is guaranteed by the Government. The concession

includes the privilege, which one day will be most valuable, of prolonging the road from Bucaramanga to connect with the Ferrocarril del Norte.

North-eastward, a four or five days' hard ride from Bucaramanga, lies Cúcuta, where we meet with the phenomenon of a city that has not sought its outlet viâ the Magdalena, but is in communication with the outer world through Lake Maracaibo : the old route was by a mule-road to the River Zulia, whose waters, navigable for light-draught steamers, flow into the Catatumbo, a Venezuelan river, and thence into the so-called lake—really a deep sea-gulf —of Maracaibo. At the Catatumbo passengers and freight are transferred to larger boats which transfer to ocean-steamers at the port of Maracaibo. The voyage from the Zulia, at Puerto Villamizar, to Maracaibo usually takes about three days. The distance from Cúcuta to the Zulia River by the old road was only about 35 miles, and railroad connection was established as early, for Colombia, as 1888. Later the same company, which is made up entirely of local capital and in which the municipality of Cúcuta is owner of a one-third interest, constructed a branch to the Venezuelan frontier 10 miles long, making the total mileage 47 miles. In spite of adverse conditions created by the building of a nearby railroad in Venezuela, which diverted considerable traffic, and by the unfavourable, at times hostile and prohibitive, attitude of the Venezuelan Government towards Colombian trade, the company has managed to hold its own financially, has paid dividends, and has reduced its bonded indebtedness from £120,000 to £57,300. The traffic in 1905 was 13,500 tons, in 1911, 20,722 tons.

At the time of writing, Cúcuta is undergoing a rather severe financial crisis, but the effect on the railroad is only temporary ; a more severe menace,

however, is the project, advanced as much from patriotic and political motives as from financial, to construct a road from Cúcuta, through or with a branch to Ocaña, to the lower Magdalena at Tamalameque.

It is a long detour we have taken. Let us hurry back—a privilege the printed page only, not the actual facts, can extend the traveller—to Girardot, to wend our way to the south.

We have a choice of two routes—to the luxury-lovers a choice of two evils. Steam navigation as far as Neiva, not very regular as the river is now become increasingly difficult, is provided by the same steamship combine that controls the traffic on the lower Magdalena ;[1] and we can go still a little farther up the river in a *champan*. The typical *champan*, characteristic of the Magdalena and not yet entirely superseded even where it meets the competition of steam, is really a large stoutly built raft, with its central part covered by an arch of palm leaves thatched on bent bamboos. It is propelled by poling ; the pilots or *bogas* are skilled in their knowledge of the river, taking advantage of the most favourable currents ; when going against the stream they will usually cling to the shore, where the rush of water is not so swift. The embarkation bestrided by the steadily working *bogas* often chanting their own rude poetry in rhythmical cadences, and thrown in bold relief against the dense riotous vegetation of the river-bank, presents a picturesque scene that enchants both eye and ear.

But beauty is not comfort : travelling for a few days on a *champan*, it will be readily conceived, is not the height of luxury. The traveller is glad to disembark and betake himself to a saddle, however execrable the road. The road to Popayan is an old one, dating from the days of the Spaniards and

[1] The Perez Rosa line has also recently put a boat in operation.

the Indians, and has scarcely been improved. The Central Cordillera is crossed at the Paramo de Guanacas, then one goes through the Paramo de Coconucos on to Popayan : the journey from Neiva usually consumes about seven to ten days.

The better route is to go from Girardot to Ibagué, thence crossing the Central Cordillera by the famous Quindio Pass and descending to the Cauca Valley at Cartago. This route yields perhaps the most interesting variety of climate and of scenery in all Colombia : first comes the level stretch of hot *llanos*, vast cattle plains, of the Magdalena Valley : then we rise easily to the clean, picturesquely situated town of Ibagué, to which place it is planned to lay rails—there are some 15 miles already down (*Ferrocarril del Tolima*, recently purchased by the Government)—from Girardot. Soon after leaving Ibagué on our mules we enter the Quindio road, whose bad name, inherited from the past, is to-day not deserved : it compares favourably with other mule-roads in Colombia, and, if one is travelling in the dry season, nothing can be more delightful than the constantly varying scenery encountered ; here, dipping down into a delightful little valley, formed by a sparkling rivulet whose banks are edged with cane, bamboo, and tropical trees, interwreathed with twining vines ; there, circling a mountain-side and looking across at a vast amphitheatre where the striking vegetation, in wild profusion, is the gigantic wax-palm, that towers sometimes to a height of 100 feet ; then reaching the level of the oak and other trees of the temperate zone, or still higher, at an altitude of 10,000 or 11,000 feet, the *paramos*, bare of all vegetation save low shrubs, which might be desolate were it not for the magnificent mountain scenery, with the occasional view of the glorious snow-peaks of the Central Cordillera.

At times the road is poor : now and then, cut into

the solid rock of the mountain-side, towering sheer hundreds of feet above you, while a precipice yawns threateningly on the other side, it may narrow down to a scant yard or two in width ; it may, for a short distance, climb at an angle of almost forty-five degrees, with the roughest cobble paving for security against the mules slipping ; or in a stretch of alluvial soil, the ruts worn by the constant tread of the animals in the same spot have worn deep narrow trenches, characteristic of Andean roads, against the sides of which one's knees will knock roughly if constant vigilance be not exercised ; worse yet, these trenches will not be continuous, but will be interrupted by mounds over which the mules have continually stepped, sinking the road-bed deeper and deeper by the iterated stamping of their hoofs in the same hollow, till deep excavations are formed, which in the rainy reason are pools filled with the most appalling mud. Such is a fair picture applicable to many a stretch of so-called road in Colombia.

The " hotel accommodations " on the way are poor, of course ; one stops at the usual shanty and takes such fare as one can get, a *sancocho* or *arepas*, eked out with the foods prudentially brought along. It is in such passes as the Quindio, too, when one reaches the *paramos*, thousands of feet in altitude and far above the clouds, that one experiences the rigorous *cold* of the tropics. The temperature at night is nearly always below forty degrees ; occasionally it drops to freezing-point, and one feels it all the more after a sojourn in the hot lowlands. No amount of clothing then seems adequate. Travellers will remember the bitter cold nights they have passed in the *paramos*. Although I have attempted in this book to eliminate those merely personal incidents that, lacking the master's touch, render so many books of travel wearisome, I cannot

SALENTO.

IBAGUÉ IN THE DISTANCE.
Quindío road scenes.

To face p. 106.

refrain from mentioning my night's lodging in the Quindio one New Year's Eve, because it is in some respects typical of many of the shanties that do duty for inns along Colombian highways. The little hut was one of the well-known stopping-places on the trail. I had the good fortune to secure a room to myself, just big enough to contain my cot, my " boy " stretching himself out on the threshold. In the corner was a bundle of ill-smelling hides, and suspended from the low ceiling were ropes of dried meat, which dangled a few inches above the cot, so that every time I raised my head I felt a greasy swipe. And the bitter cold ! At least, it *felt* cold, after one's blood had been thinned in the lowlands. The unpatched wooden walls let in every icy wind. With all my woollen clothing on, besides a *ruana* or coarse woollen mantle, a rug, and my poncho over or under me, and spite of aid from my brandy-flask, I still could not keep warm. And this within a few degrees of the Equator !

But if you cannot withstand such petty discomforts for the sake of the ever-shifting panorama of snow-peaks, rugged mountains, cosy valleys, smiling woodlands, trim little villages, then you are not worthy to be exhilarated by the sun-kissed winds of the Andes or soothed by the languorous tropical moonlight of the lower lands, or to partake of the open-handed hospitality which will greet you.

The Quindio mule-trail, after crossing the divide of the Central Cordillera and passing the clean, thriving hamlets which the industrious sons of Antioquia are rapidly colonizing, leads down to Cartago in the Cauca Valley, a four or five days' ride from Girardot. Here one connects with the old " royal highway," also nothing but a mule-trail, exception made of a better stretch here and there, that leads northward to Manizales and Medellin, three and five days' distant respectively, and south-

ward through the Cauca Valley and the southern tablelands of Popayan and Pasto to the frontier and on to Quito, the capital of Ecuador, if one wishes to visit that country and ride on the newly completed railroad from Guayaquil to Quito.

On the first lap of the journey south you can rest, if you want to, from the saddle and take instead one of the Cauca River steamers : there are three small modern boats, operated by the local *Compañia de Navegación del Rio Cauca* (capital $180,000), which do a good business, when the river is not too low for travel, plying to and from Cali, a distance of 120 miles on the river from Cartago. Cali is the prospective terminus—for the present, at least—of the 3-foot gauge railroad from the Pacific port of Buenaventura—another unfinished line whose vicissitudes and misfortunes date back over forty years. The road is now operated, and construction is being rapidly pushed forward by a native company, the *Compañia del Ferrocarril del Pacifico* (paid up capital $854,000), of which the *Banco Central* is the principal shareholder ; a loan of £119,200, placed at 86, was recently obtained in England. Under the liberal contract from the Government, one half of the customs receipts of the ports of Buenaventura and Tumaco are turned over to the company in payment of the subsidies to which it is entitled ; so it is confidentially hoped, and with every show of reason, that the line will be completed to Cali next year.[1] Eighty-three miles have been constructed, the highest point of the pass has been reached, and only 25 miles more are needed to descend to Cali. The importance of this railway, once the Panama Canal is opened, can hardly be overestimated ; but its present feeble locomotives and light rails would be wholly inadequate for the traffic

[1] Since the above was written, disastrous freshets have occurred, destroying part of the completed road and delaying new work.

that should be developed, especially if the extensive coal deposits near Cali prove, upon working, to be as rich and valuable as optimistic reports claim them to be.

From Cali one can proceed by mule-roads, a three or four days' ride on either side of the Cauca Valley, to Popayan, which has recently been placed in direct communication with the Pacific Ocean by a trail to the small port of Micay, but traffic still prefers the old route, as only launches or occasional sailing vessels touch at Micay. From Popayan to Pasto, near the Ecuadorian frontier, is another week's ride on poor roads. Pasto is an important city with a large Indian population, whose development, like that of so many other Colombian towns, is retarded by lack of facile communication with the coast. Ordinarily it is reached from the port of Tumaco, on the Pacific, by launches or canoes to Barbacoas, and thence by mule, a six or seven days' trip.

Buenaventura and Tumaco are the only Colombian ports of any importance on the Pacific. Apart from occasional tramp steamers and sailing vessels and the regular but infrequent visits of the German Kosmos liners, they are served exclusively, and anything but well, by the Pacific Steam Navigation Company with fortnightly sailings (when they adhere to the schedule) to and from Panama. The boats on this coasting line, far different from those run by the same company to Peru and Chile, do little credit to the British flag. It is to be hoped that the Royal Mail Steamship Company, Ltd., which, it is said, has recently acquired control of the Pacific Steam, will run better boats, reduce the exorbitantly high freights and passage rates, and generally improve the service, even before the opening of the canal. That event, at least, is bound to assure good shipping facilities to this coast.

But here we are arrived at the Pacific Ocean.

By mountain mule, often knee-deep in mud, or by lagging lowland horse under a blazing tropical sun, by river-steamers and dug-out canoes, by train over swamps, through jungle or on the slopes of dizzy precipices, it is a long journey we have made, patient reader ; we must needs be fatigued, and merit the repose of a closed chapter.

CHAPTER VIII

ANOTHER WORD ON RAILROADS

A GLANCE at the map and a review of the last chapter will show that the few hundred miles of railways already built or under way in Colombia not only do not form any connected group, but with rare exceptions will not even serve as links for any future national or international system that may be constructed.

Worse yet, with the exception of the lines on the Sabana, the railways depend almost wholly for freight on exports and imports ; their local trade is utterly insignificant, and some of these lines, constructed at great sacrifices, seem doomed to failure, perhaps to become rusty relics overgrown with weeds or encroached upon by tropical jungle, when really efficient transportation by more direct, more solid and cheaper routes is eventually furnished, unless, indeed, the domestic interchange of products assumes proportions that are to be scarcely looked for. Take for instance the Girardot Railway : its great object was to furnish more facile communication between the capital and the coast. The same amount of money represented by its securities and spent or wasted by the Government during its long history could doubtless have gone very far, wisely and economically handled, towards building a railroad to the sea, or at least to a part of the Magdalena,

not more than 200 miles or so from the mouth, that is really navigable and not merely so by courtesy, as is the rest of the stream. The Magdalena is not, in its present condition at least, fit to be a great shipping channel—it is not for a moment to be compared as a commercial highway with the great rivers of America, the Mississippi, the St. Lawrence, Amazon, and River Plate, nor even with those of secondary rank like the Hudson, the Columbia, the Orinoco, and never will be their equal. Its utility, actual or latent, is limited, and to have staked the early railroad-building energies of the nation, and largely its pecuniary resources, too, on establishing connection with this frail artery of trade *without any serious attempt to improve its navigability*, has been Folly, Waste, Crime. The money spent, too, on the Cartagena and Barranquilla railways and on the projects for extension of the Santa Marta—why not have spent this or part of this, and a small part would have sufficed, in improving the mouth of the Magdalena so as to make it accessible to ocean-steamers? At present vessels rarely dare to hazard the dangerous entrance. Why, indeed, but for the selfishness, short-sightedness, or jealousies of other local interests?

And what permanent assurance of trade can a railway have if it does not possess feeders? Yet what attempts have been made to build good roads that would furnish even nearby sections access to the tracks? Had one-half of the money that has been ill-spent on rail projects never carried through, on prejudiced surveys, on graft, on construction so poor that rebuilding was required, on claims for alleged breaches of contract, etc., been expended in supplying good wagon-roads, it is probable that many sections of the country would have so developed and progressed, revolutions notwithstanding, that a crying need for railroads, with certainty of their profitable operation, would have arisen—such a cry

as to compel the ear of capitalists who would be eager to satisfy the need.

But no ! we must needs march in the vanguard of civilization before we can creep. Result : 600 miles of provisional track for a population of five millions and 400,000 square miles, and Colombia's railroading must still needs be done all over again, sooner or later, and the sooner the better.

Subsidies for railroad building have been given, and generously. But apparently no one in Colombia has ever stopped to consider the very obvious fact that railroads do not *create* traffic ; that in and by themselves they do not develop a country, but simply allow free play for development for otherwise hopelessly hampered individual energies and initiative ; that they are merely a condition, indispensable, it is true, but still merely a condition, an attendant circumstance and requisite, but not a cause of trade improvement, of increased circulation, of greater wealth and progress.

Subsidies have been necessary in the past and still are, because of the fact that the present freight movement of Colombia is too small in and by itself to warrant railroad enterprise. Nothing can better show this than the table of statistics printed on the following pages, compiled laboriously from sources here and sources there.[1] For its incompleteness or even for possible errors I do not apologize—any one who has had occasion to collect statistics in Colombia will appreciate the difficulty of the task.

These figures, covering as they do the *cream* of the transportation business, show conclusively that Government aid is essential. But the Government

[1] I may mention Jalhay: *La République de Colombie* (Brussels, 1909) ; the publications of the Department of Public Works, and reports kindly furnished me by one or two of the railways, notably the Barranquilla, the Santa Marta, the Amagá, the Pacifico, and the Girardot.

RAILROAD

Name.	Length.		Outstanding Shares.	Outstanding Bonds.	Passenger Rates. (Per Kilometre.) (Col. Gold.)		
					1st.	2nd.	3rd.
	Kilos.	Miles.			$	$	$
Amagá	24	15	$1,000,000	None.	0.025	0.02	0.01
Antioquia ...	135[1]	85	$577,014[2]	None.	0.02	0.01	0.005
Barranquilla [3] ...	27	18	£200,000	£100,000 (6%)	0.026	0.016	None.
Cartagena ...	105	65	£750,000	£600,000 (5%)	0.024	0.014	—
Cauca [Pacifico]	134[4]	85	$854,000	£119,200 (5%)	0.02	0.015	—
Cúcuta	71	45	—	£53,700	0.036[5]	0.015[5]	—
La Dorada ...	114	73	£350,000	£350,000	0.016	None.	0.005
Girardot ...	132	82	£900,000	£1,480,000 (6%)	[7] 0.033 0.022	0.026 0.017	0.017 0.011
Norte	62	39	£600,000	£180,000	0.03	0.02	0.01
Puerto Wilches	20	12	£495,000	£506,760 (7%)	(Not in	operation.)	
Sabana	40	25	[8]	£187,000	0.02	0.015	0.01
Santa Marta ...	131[9]	82[9]	£359,160[10]	£186,400 (6%)	0.014	0.008	0.0015
Sur	30	19	$300,000[13]	£65,000 (8½%)	0.015	0.0125	—
Tolima	25	15	$30,000[13]	None.	(Not in	operation.)	
Totals ...	1,050	660	—	£3,829,060	—	—	—

[1] 112 kilos in operation.

[2] Owned by the Department. This figure is cost to date (exclusive of damages to contractors) to National Government.

[3] Statistics for fiscal year ending June 30, 1911. Government report for year ending December 31 gives receipts, $207,863 ; expenses, $138,577.

[4] 100 kilos in operation.

[5] Silver money.

[6] Converted into gold at 235. Exclusive of tramway.

STATISTICS, 1911

Freight Rates. (Per Ton. Kilometre.) Imports. (Col. Gold.)	Freight Rates. (Per Ton. Kilometre.) Exports.	Passengers Carried.	Tons of Freight Carried.	Gross Receipts.	Working Expenses.
$ 0.10	$ 0.08	365,007	796	$44,526	(Not reported.)
0.20	0.15	57,422	20,544	$363,932	$287,595
0.13	0.084	166,026	91,969	$264,582	$133,653
0.045	0.045	39,429	45,121	$189,588	—
0.20	0.15	11,727	12,508	$190,965	$266,946
0.636[5]	0.272[5]	112,871	20,772	$212,120[6]	$113,565[6]
0.20	0.14	99,991	56,895	$355,024	$193,519
0.281 0·187	0.15 0.10 [7]	95,605	29,161	$382,714	$293,307
0.16	0.08	119,026	58,490	$222,525	(Not reported.)
—	—	—	—	—	—
0.12	0.06	276,474	64,351	$263,203	$136,367
0.08	0.06	170,047	19,579 116,708[12]	£84,100[11]	£73,586[11]
0.105	0.08	82,180	31,196	$64,141	(Not reported.)
—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	1,495,805	567,690	—	—

[7] Upper line, mountain ; lower line, valley rates.
[8] Owned by the Government.
[9] Includes 10 miles private lines connecting with the railroad.
[10] £200,000 ordinary, £159,160 7% preferred.
[11] Nine months ending September 30. Government report for calendar year gives receipts, $513,937 ; expenses, $618,974.
[12] Bananas.
[13] Owned by the Government. This figure is price paid by the Government.

has only done *half* its duty when it grants the railroad contractor a subsidy. Equally essential is it that it spend a proportionate amount in building and improving roads and in directly fomenting (a word much used in those Spanish American countries where it is least exemplified) the agricultural and other industries, and promoting the colonization of the sparsely settled tracts within the radius of usefulness of the subsidized railroad.

Some Colombians dream that their country can enter the kingdom of Steel without the aid of the foreigner, but the contrary proposition would seem to require little argument. It is inevitable that foreign capital be called upon for the purpose. Foreign companies must continue, as in the past, to construct and operate the railways, or at least foreign investors must, as bankers and bondholders, supply the bulk of the capital. In either case, the writer has been reluctantly forced to the conclusion that investment in prospective Colombian railways (except reliance be placed mainly in a Government guarantee) is unwise, unless either the Government gives assurance that it will perform its *whole* duty and not merely the subsidy half, or unless the railroad company is strong enough financially, and its stockholders patient enough to enable it to do that which is in large part properly the function of the Government. If the Government is not, then the company itself should be, prepared to build wagon-roads, advertise and propagandize, attract colonists, and encourage agriculture and industry by teaching improved methods and even by loaning funds.

I have permitted myself to dwell at some length on these points because, as I have already said, Colombia's railroading has to be commenced anew, and consequently the country offers an almost virgin field for the railway operator and financier.

As to existing roads: one or two perhaps are

destined to disappear : nearly all the others will have to be made over, wider gauge, double tracking, heavier rails, better grading, stronger safeguards against the inclemencies of Nature, firmer road-beds, improved equipment and rolling stock—these are or will be soon required on most ways. A current joke, supposed to be a colloquy between two passengers, illustrates the character of many an Andine road-bed to-day : "We seem to be going more smoothly "—"Yes, we are off the track now."

As to future roads : it takes more of a prophet than any writer can with safety pretend to be to foretell on what lines the railroad system of the future *will* develop—so many forces come into play, in the guise of political and local influences, changed conditions, and purely adventitious circumstances. No more can be done than to set down the tendencies indicated by present clamours, and the routes, not necessarily coincident with those clamours, indicated by a study of physical and commercial geography.

A reason of international politics, the desire to be in a position both to readily protect the frontier in case of need and to be liberated from the bondage to Venezuela imposed by the Zulia and Maracaibo route, is creating a strong demand for a railway from Cúcuta to the Magdalena River. Rough preliminary surveys have been made to the river-port of Tamalameque. This line would open up much good agricultural land, materially reduce, it is claimed, the tolls now paid by Cúcuta merchants, and if connected through Bucaramanga to Bogotá, would furnish a better route from the outer world to the capital district than either the present ways or the Great Central Northern line now building, as it would reach a part of the river better from a shipping standpoint than is Puerto Wilches. It is said steamers of 800 tons could reach Tamalameque. Moreover, so con-

nected, this road could furnish the nucleus for a respectable trunk line that could be prolonged eventually to the sea, connected with the Santa Marta, or, crossing the Magdalena, with the Barranquilla or Cartagena roads ; in the latter case run through with branches to the more important regions, like Sincelejo and El Carmen, of the cattle plains of the department of Bolivar.

More promising, however, is the outlook for the prolongation of the Cauca railroad that is soon to cross the Western Cordillera from the Pacific. There is no section of Colombia that lends itself so readily and at such low cost to railroad building as that part of the Cauca River basin known so distinctively throughout Colombia as *the* valley *par excellence* that it is called simply El Valle, and it is a section at the same time that is already, as things go in that country, well developed, though there is still opportunity to increase its agricultural and pastoral wealth a hundredfold. This forms a section of the great Pan-American Railway scheme. The engineers of that monumental survey estimated the cost of construction of the part we are now speaking of at $16,000 a mile from Cali south to La Bolsa, 47 miles, and as low as $13,000 a mile from Cali north to Cartago, 124 miles.[1] Following the line of the Pan-American survey, south through the important towns of Popayan and Pasto and to Quito in Ecuador (440 miles, estimated cost $32,000 a mile) and north through the department of Antioquia to the sea (Cartago to Poblanco, 100 miles, $32,000 a mile ; Poblanco to Antioquia, 70 miles, $24,000 a mile ; Antioquia to Cartagena, 374 miles, $22,500 a mile), we would have a great international trunk

[1] This section is now served by the Cauca River steamers, but during a protracted dry season these boats are left high and dry. South of La Bolsa, the river is too small, and north of Puerto Dagua till again well in Antioquia, too rapid, for navigation.

ON THE CAUCA RAILROAD.

line through the central western portion of Colombia, one of the richest mining and agricultural regions throughout the whole world. Probably more advisable would be a deviation from this plan : north from Cartago through Manizales, then to connect with the now advancing Amagá line to Medellin, thence north to the sea, not to Cartagena but by a shorter route, as proposed in the Granger concession, to the Gulf of Uraba (Darien), where extensive port improvements are being made by a German company in connection with banana cultivation. The only dubious thing about this plan is that it would entail about 200 miles through forest and jungle, uninhabited and undeveloped, remote from any work of civilized man, and little likely to be rapidly built up. But such an interoceanic trunk line, with one arm at Buenaventura and one running into Ecuador, and terminating on the Caribbean at either Cartagena or Uraba, it is reasonably safe to say will one day come, though perhaps not in the next decades. It could, when necessities, governmental or of intranational trade justified, be connected across some pass in the Central Cordillera with the Magdalena Valley : [1] the Quindio route would seem as favourable as any yet known, effecting a junction at Ibagué with the proposed Tolima Railway from Girardot. In this connection it is interesting to note that preliminary work is now being pursued for an aerial railway from Manizales to Mariquita, a station on the Dorada Extension line, with a branch to the rich Zancudo silver mines at Titiribi. The work is being done by a German engineering firm for the Dorada Company.

Other railways are in the air, but very much " in the air." Of these, bare mention will suffice. They

[1] The Cauca Railroad Company has, since the above was written, entered into a contract with the Government to prolong its line to Girardot, but Congress failed to take action.

all possess the intrinsic merit of being really needed either by local necessities or for the development of the country or for military purposes, but there is little likelihood of much attention being devoted to them while there are more pressing needs to satisfy. Of this nature are lines from Pasto to the sea, the desirability of which would be largely obviated by the prolongation of the Cauca road; from Medellin, following the Nechi River to Zaragoza, from which place navigation is more constantly better than from Puerto Berrio, but the construction of the one railway will probably stifle the other, though better, route; from the Sabana of Bogotá down to the *llanos* of the Meta, a very short distance; a line in the upper Magdalena Valley, in level country, comparatively cheap to build—the desirability of a railway thence across the Eastern Cordillera at some southerly point, to mobilize troops at the menaced southern frontier, is recognized, but the nation stands aghast and consequently inert at the vast cost and the exiguity of traffic. Concessions have also been granted in recent years, but have lapsed, for railroads in the Goajira from Rio Hacha around by Valle Dupar to the inevitable Magdalena and from the Norte Railway through Tunja to Sogamoso; and in remoter periods still other concessions were granted which never hatched much more than *papel sellado* and oratory.

Pursuant to Law 104 of 1892, which is still in force, the Executive Department is authorized without the necessity of further confirmatory legislation to grant railroad concessions and subsidies within the prescribed limits.

The subsidy may be either (*a*) a grant of public lands of not more than 300 hectares and a sum not exceeding $10,000 gold, payable in 6 per cent. bonds, for each kilometre of railway opened to public

service. The bonds issued under this law are amortizable by 10 per cent. of the gross product of customs collections of all ports in the Republic ; or

(*b*) A guarantee for twenty years of interest at a rate not exceeding 7 per cent. on the capital actually invested not greater than $30,000 per kilometre of equipped road. If the road's net income should, however, during three consecutive years be sufficient to cover the interest guaranteed, the Government's obligation terminates once for all, regardless of future earnings.

The concessions may be for terms of one hundred years, the Government having the right to purchase for cash at any time after fifty years at the appraised valuation and after seventy-five years at one-half of such valuation. At the expiration of the full term, the railway with its equipment and rolling stock, all to be in good condition, becomes the property of the Government without payment.

Some of the concessions have been even more liberal than the terms of this law. For instance, the original Puerto Wilches contract guaranteed 7 per cent. per annum on the sum of $40,000 a kilometre ; the guarantee for the Santa Marta extension is extended to twenty-five years ; for building the Cauca or Pacific Railroad, the Government pays as high in the most mountainous part as $65,333 a kilometre and in the easier parts $38,000 or $40,000, and payment is secured by 50 per cent. of the gross customs collections of Buenaventura and Tumaco—an amount that reaches half a million dollars a year and is paid punctually every month. Such have been the subsidies granted in the past ; they furnish a clue to what may reasonably be asked for new lines. Save one point—the spreading doctrine of Government Ownership. The customary system of granting concessions, which tend to come into the hands of foreigners, has been assailed both on practical and

on political grounds,[1] it being urged that the Government should undertake either direct or by contract all new work solely for its own account and risk. The movement for the nationalization of railways present and future is gaining headway—it is part of the programme of the Liberal party, but it is more than doubtful whether, even if the doctrine gained ascendancy, financial impediments would not effectively block its carrying out. But even defeat will have its victory; at least this will be gained—the experience of other countries will be availed of and monopolistic franchises, that before their expiration would become extremely valuable and possibly grip the very life out of the people, will no longer be freehandedly given away.

[1] Notably by Perez Triana in *Desde Lejos*, 1907: there is a substantial basis of truth in his arguments, but it would seem from the practical side that promoters and concessionaires cannot yet be eliminated: contrary to the assumption of Señor Perez Triana, bankers in the great financial marts, to whom it is admitted resort must be had, would rather deal with a responsible and reliable concessionaire than with the direct representatives of the Government. The initiative, energy, and resourcefulness of the genuine pioneer railroad builder cannot find any substitute among mere Government employees. But extreme care should be taken by the Government that it grant contracts only to trustworthy parties and not, as it has unfortunately too frequently done in the past, to the first slick promoter and adventurous concession-hunter who happened to come along.

CHAPTER IX

COMMERCE

COLOMBIA'S foreign commerce is insignificant compared to that of some other Spanish American countries, whose population is but little greater, like Argentina, or even less, like Cuba and Chile ; but when we consider the lack of inland transportation facilities, the surprising thing is not that she has so little foreign commerce, but that she has so much.

The slow but constant growth of her international business, interrupted only by political disturbance or financial crises such as we considered in a previous chapter, is shown by the following statistics :—

	EXPORTS. Dollars.	IMPORTS. Dollars.
1832	1,236,850	1,454,142
1842	2,386,967	3,423,288
1855	3,393,251	4,168,468
1865	6,772,017	7,897,206
1870	8,247,817	5,759,018
1880	15,836,943	12,121,480
1885	14,171,241	6,879,531
1895	15,088,316	11,523,222
1905	12,314,916	12,281,720
1908	14,998,744	13,513,891
1909	16,040,198	12,117,927
1910	17,786,806	17,385,039
1911	22,375,899	18,108,863

The Colombians are not a nation of shopkeepers ; the very strong restrictions placed on commerce

during the colonial days prevented the transmission of any heritage of business aptitude. Fortunately, no social prejudice against trade has come down the generations ; men of the best families engage freely in business, and it is not uncommon to see even those who have occupied high political station tending their own little shops and none to think the worse of them.

And little shops they are apt to be. The day of " big business " has not yet arrived in Colombia. The wholesaler will have his retail store attached or combined, and will also be a buyer for export business—specializing has not been carried far. The bulk of the business is done by what we may call general stores, which are alike exporters and importers, wholesale distributors and retailers. Many such firms are made up of foreigners, permanently settled in the country, or of merchants of foreign parentage. Among them, the Germans are conspicuous. As for the Colombians themselves, it is not unusual for those who have shown marked ability for trade and have amassed some capital to seek larger fields ; coming to Europe or the United States, they engage as factors and commission merchants and, availing themselves of their connections at home, secure a considerable share of the Colombian business.

With the exception of bananas from Santa Marta and a few specialities, practically all commodities from Colombia are consigned to the commission houses of the United States and Europe : New York, London, and Hamburg being, in the order named, the principal markets. Even a large part of the gold and silver product goes to the same firms. Of the exports, far the most important is *coffee*, of which two-thirds goes to the United States, the remainder being divided chiefly between England and France and Germany. The larger planters ship direct to the commission merchants, to whom they are often

PALMS FROM WHICH THE SUAZA (PANAMA) HATS ARE MADE.

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indebted for advances ; the smaller will sell to the general stores, which finance the purchases by 60 and 90-day drafts on the commission houses. The competition to get the crops is keen. The country is often well scoured by the agents of the local dealers in search of advantageous deals with the small planter. These local dealers may be independent, but more often they are in very close relationship to, if not actually the purchasing agents of the foreign houses, many of which, in addition, own a number of plantations which they have taken over for debts.

Besides coffee, the principal exports are the precious metals, which go to England, France, and the States, and hides and skins, of which the United States is the chief consumer, as it is also of bananas, Panama hats so-called, rubber, cacao, woods, and drugs. Germany supplies the leading market for the Colombian tobacco, vegetable ivory and dividivi pods (used for tanning), and Cuba for live cattle. Other export products are insignificant in quantity and value and scattered, except emeralds, of which several hundred thousand dollars' worth are exported annually to Europe, for account of the Government.

The following statistics of the principal exports are given for the year 1911 :—

	Kilograms.		Dollars.
Coffee ...	37,899,968	valued at	9,475,448.89
Gold ...	10,574	„	3,751,632.37
Hides ...	4,449,475	„	1,779,790.21
Rubber ...	576,760	„	900,886.90
Ivory nuts ...	10,989,605	„	739,419
Bananas ...	109,785,748	„	2,172,000
Tobacco ...	3,911,012	„	332,935
Hats ...	93,874	„	1,088,821
Platinum ...	2,554	„	345,896

The United States generally leads also in exports to Colombia, shipping principally mining, agricul-

tural, and electrical machinery, iron and steel products, hardware, flour, wheat, cement, patent medicines, railway rolling stock, lard, illuminating oils ; on account of its proximity, it competes advantageously with Europe also in clothing and furnishings, in England's old stand-by, cotton goods and cloth, in toilet articles, news and wrapping paper, furniture, shoes, musical instruments, and stationery.

Great Britain ships iron and steel products, railroad material, textiles ($4,202,733), railroad machinery, fuel, wines, liquors, and bottled waters, etc., to a total value of $5,838,789 in 1811, which is slightly ahead of the total in the same year for the United States, $5,404,975 ; Germany, principally cereals, wines, beer, and soft drinks, tools, china and glass, paper and pasteboard and textiles, to a total of $3,242,634 ; the principal items in France's $1,718,747 for the same year (1911) were wines, drugs and medicines, and clothing ; Spain is a close second in wines, which constituted nearly half of her total exports to Colombia of $397,733. The detailed statistics of exports and imports for 1911 are officially given as shown in the tables following.

The same commission houses that receive and sell Colombia's products naturally control a large share of the purchases made by that country abroad. More and more are jobbers, as in Manchester, or manufacturers, but not always with financial success, attempting to eliminate the commission house and do business direct. Only a very few, however, have hitherto maintained their own offices or carried stock in Colombia with managers or employees sent from the home office or factory. The volume of possible business does not as a rule warrant such expense. Usually agents are selected from among native or foreign merchants already established in Colombia, who will often combine a number of agencies besides

	Germany.			Spain.			United States.			France.		
	Kilos.	Gs.	Dollars.	Kilos.	Gs.	Dollars.	Kilos.	Gs.	Dollars.	Kilos.	Gs.	Dollars.
Live animals	—	—	—	—	—	—	12,480	—	4,558.00	—	—	—
Animal products	554,974	500	206,308.25	189,348	—	75,739.20	2,717,042	140	1,050,115.60	130,928	106	67,637.08
Vegetable products ...	17,840,098	030	1,526,436.88	138,083	—	43,645.35	90,243,106	315	8,308,553.57	1,085,555	500	124,906.90
Manufactured products...	44,186	280	129,125.47	—	—	—	1,424,259	180	877,183.16	135	—	86.00
Mineral products	77,481	333	45,728.15	1,800	—	270.00	158,236	660	2,008,545.05	14,469	069	574,329.50
Miscellaneous products...	51	—	230.00	—	—	—	769	—	40.00	174	—	155.00
Money	4	500	2,525.00	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	995	2,075.00
Totals	18,516,795	643	1,910,353.75	329,231	—	119,654.55	94,555,893	295	12,248,995.38	1,231,279	670	769,189.48

	Great Britain.			Other Foreign Countries.			Panamá			Total.		
	Kilos.	Gs.	Dollars.	Kilos.	Gs.	Dollars.	Kilos.	Gs.	Dollars.	Kilos.	Gs.	Dollars.
Live animals	14,040	—	1,097.14	52,408	—	78,716.00	87,510	500	8,481.50	166,438	500	92,852.64
Animal products	721,759	500	256,835.48	735,215	745	303,670.15	1,185	—	104.00	5,050,452	991	1,960,409.76
Vegetable products ...	58,964,975	500	2,112,574.03	12,396,030	—	2,244,085.59	121,816	—	15,098.50	180,789,664	345	14,375,300.82
Manufactured products...	441,115	760	273,081.89	470,194	—	49,040.20	318,471	697	18,877.25	2,698,361	917	1,347,393.97
Mineral products	1,479,581	886	1,872,334.02	4,173	—	6,140.00	1,480	718	415.00	1,737,222	666	4,507,761.72
Miscellaneous products	1,046	—	80.00	14,188	—	6,939.40	90	—	1.00	16,318	—	7,445.40
Money	395	458	80,135.25	—	—	—	—	—	—	417	953	84,735.25
Totals	61,622,914	104	4,596,137.81	13,672,208	745	2,688,591.34	530,553	915	42,977.25	190,458,876	372	22,375,899.56

IMPORTS, 1911.

	Germany.			Spain.			United States.			France.		
	Kilos.	Gs.	Dollars.	Kilos.	Gs.	Dollars.	Kilos.	Gs.	Dollars.	Kilos.	Gs.	Dollars.
Oils and fats	70,748	329	16,609.68	6,892	500	1,574.78	404,554	545	51,960.45	23,063	811	7,334.84
Food-stuffs	9,142,016	777	540,132.28	260,040	627	46,928.69	15,177,094	609	1,078,386.93	244,337	512	62,221.01
Agriculture and mines ...	94,795	646	16,808.80	213	—	54.84	806,871	004	131,548.02	6,298	374	1,301.95
Fuel and light	429,071	968	47,442.19	2,593	—	1,685.25	9,011,206	368	196,570.77	100,278	235	14,878.60
Live animals	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,304	670	819.30	—	—	520.00
Arms and ammunition	9,348	023	17,752.98	4,087	—	5,034.80	8,530	107	13,601.02	4,552	514	4,976.98
Arts and trades	136,106	025	56,388.69	4,063	680	1,395.00	2,523,107	410	518,486.18	24,941	916	11,817.15
Paints and varnishes ...	149,196	101	41,930.72	141	—	18.81	183,683	517	35,248.80	13,785	502	5,065.60
Wines and liquors	684,281	829	72,282.07	1,294,087	545	175,301.73	296,532	835	42,059.45	541,777	594	196,058.03
Earthen and glass ware	2,250,005	365	172,841.39	43,499	209	1,919.68	6,356,157	195	130,697.12	205,322	631	41,215.10
Rubber, celluloid, etc. ...	18,307	761	30,097.79	21	500	36.00	15,310	192	19,444.84	10,467	735	22,296.39
Shells, horn, etc.	12,799	517	22,565.91	6	250	—	791	651	1,505.39	12,085	686	21,813.71
Hides, skins, and leather	16,833	634	46,683.88	4,428	644	8,179.10	58,209	119	161,289.52	21,427	044	55,963.32
Drugs and medicines ...	452,394	118	127,912.16	3,721	333	1,354.87	1,979,740	699	327,832.34	252,774	185	154,004.63
Electricity	130,262	903	29,818.36	17	—	8.38	114,219	014	50,397.72	7,568	929	3,739.40
Explosives and inflammables	5,895	—	2,570.27	—	—	—	71,698	750	21,913.79	203	—	89.00
Musical instruments ...	42,223	156	24,327.69	—	—	—	24,200	280	14,812.27	15,721	682	11,632.05
Locomotives	565,570	009	60,810.22	6,487	800	3,334.52	4,570,042	645	441,112.72	24,291	679	8,890.75
Woods	410,175	451	69,950.52	40,613	580	25,336.06	4,742,690	307	87,763.78	39,254	616	21,185.03
Metals	2,396,451	749	487,204.14	37,942	142	5,793.11	6,937,364	815	679,628.47	149,483	604	92,038.89
Paper and cardboard ...	845,302	064	145,148.48	56,676	770	19,992.88	638,537	778	190,691.32	157,633	097	45,350.55
Perfumery and soap ...	31,800	952	10,140.47	61	—	4.00	338,991	389	51,868.85	44,638	037	21,323.69
Textiles	885,907	278	1,194,529.47	98,188	596	98,643.45	1,795,176	614	1,089,945.04	507,505	958	897,992.62
Miscellaneous	22,314	989	8,686.74	7,053	353	1,137.52	229,695	814	67,391.87	27,027	486	17,038.51
Totals	18,801,808	644	3,242,634.90	1,870,835	529	397,733.47	56,285,711	327	5,404,975.96	2,434,440	827	1,718,747.80

	Great Britain.			Other Countries.			Panama.			Total.		
	Kilos.	Gs.	Dollars.	Kilos.	Gs.	Dollars.	Kilos.	Gs.	Dollars.	Kilos.	Gs.	Dollars.
Oils and fats	120,084	882	16,672.22	53,318	752	11,621.63	20,147	—	1,045.06	698,809	819	106,818.66
Food-stuffs	3,430,699	839	181,324.47	6,453,393	457	277,597.66	37,691	—	4,418.05	34,745,273	821	2,191,009.09
Agriculture and mines...	645,734	072	143,430.81	290,039	—	29,566.09	518	—	363.50	1,844,469	096	323,074.01
Fuel and light	5,104,365	038	45,402.91	422,295	450	65,175.45	6,527	—	292.00	15,076,337	059	371,447.17
Live animals	250	—	200.00	54,568	—	5,640.00	987	—	—	57,109	670	7,179.30
Arms and ammunition...	3,560	631	4,402.30	2,336	250	3,223.90	—	—	—	32,414	525	48,991.98
Arts and trades	361,527	622	84,977.90	97,150	337	29,541.41	1,483	—	250.00	3,148,379	990	702,856.33
Paints and varnishes ...	125,313	537	15,605.61	34,593	576	6,437.12	81	—	39.10	506,794	233	104,345.76
Wines and liquors ...	1,022,643	961	78,232.29	456,245	251	64,178.13	1,022	—	484.00	4,296,591	015	628,595.70
Earthen and glass ware	1,812,465	954	38,440.17	2,023,055	540	71,223.53	41,653	500	1,044.20	12,732,159	394	457,381.19
Rubber, celluloid, etc. ...	7,547	766	9,293.20	1,872	348	3,327.74	4	—	8.80	53,531	302	84,504.76
Shells, horn, etc.	1,994	755	4,059.83	19,503	810	3,477.10	161	—	80.00	47,342	669	53,501.94
Hides, skins, and leather	19,152	437	34,114.65	8,221	703	4,018.03	308	—	192.00	128,580	581	310,440.50
Drugs and medicines ...	832,086	210	109,010.58	173,110	136	41,976.85	637	800	117.40	3,694,464	481	762,208.83
Electricity	25,953	185	10,307.48	77,589	994	5,818.35	62	—	—	355,673	025	100,089.69
Explosives and inflammables	22,860	450	10,736.36	2,110	568	1,004.51	2,967	—	2,105.60	105,734	768	38,419.53
Musical instruments ...	3,646	327	1,942.50	4,385	298	2,613.15	347	—	440.00	90,523	743	55,767.66
Locomotives	1,197,347	561	151,109.75	1,211,660	—	60,420.38	1,160	—	370.00	7,576,559	694	726,048.34
Woods	20,938	899	7,949.09	123,266	173	9,805.01	19,485	—	4,383.30	5,396,424	026	226,372.79
Metals	3,028,218	760	652,501.33	478,384	799	78,588.69	257	070	8,327.00	13,028,102	939	2,004,081.63
Paper and cardboard ...	83,995	779	19,832.16	212,486	952	31,829.99	3,086	—	856.22	1,997,718	440	453,701.60
Perfumery and soap ...	94,531	181	12,188.49	7,008	112	1,841.39	106	740	22.00	517,137	411	97,388.89
Textiles	5,477,511	893	4,202,733.58	731,287	716	535,072.12	8,917	300	6,940.15	9,504,495	355	8,025,856.43
Miscellaneous	17,988	343	4,322.01	148,524	022	130,192.63	579	985	12.30	453,183	992	228,781.58
Totals	23,460,419	082	5,838,789.69	13,086,407	244	1,474,190.86	148,188	395	31,790.68	116,087,811	048	18,108,863.36

handling their own business, and are not, therefore, in a position to give as much attention to any one agency as might be desirable. On the other hand, many manufacturers, especially those in the United States, are offenders in the illiberal treatment they accord their agents. They will often refuse to grant them an agency unless the proposed agent makes a large initial purchase, they will not extend credits, permit stock to be carried, nor ship goods on consignment. European houses are generally generous in these respects : credits are not infrequently given for six months and even a year, and ninety days is the least. These European manufacturers are accustomed to send samples to their agents gratis, thus collaborating in the propaganda of sale, whereas many United States manufacturers insist that those upon whom they confer the favour of an agency shall make an initial cash purchase, often heavy, of an assortment of articles chosen by the manufacturer himself, frequently without the slightest appreciation of the local needs. How large a rôle anti-American feeling plays to the advantage of the European exporter it is impossible to estimate accurately : that it is enormous cannot be doubted. Mindful of what they with justice consider the shameful treatment received by their nation at the hands of the United States in connection with the Panama affair, Colombian buyers, other things being equal, will prefer as a matter of personal feeling to purchase in European markets. The American manufacturer, too, seems hopelessly ignorant of elementary conditions in Colombia and hopelessly unwilling to learn. His commercial education seems faulty : I have heard many a Colombian merchant complain of the ignorance, not only of things in Colombia but of affairs generally, of American merchants and manufacturers with whom he has come in contact. It is significant that most of the

commission houses in New York that lead in trade with Colombia are in the hands of foreigners—Germans, West Indians, native Colombians, or other Spanish Americans.

By improved selling methods and campaigns of publicity and education, much can be done to stimulate the demand in Colombia for foreign goods, both in what are really necessities, *e.g.*, modern agricultural tools and machinery, carts, power plants, and in specialities, for instance, phonographs, telephones, piano-players, typewriters, carriages, even automobiles.

But a country's purchasing power in foreign marts is, in the long run, limited by its own production of wealth. It is, then, only with the development of her natural resources that Colombia's imports can very materially increase. Domestic capital is, of course, insufficient. To foster the sale of their products, to increase the value of Colombia as a market, British and American manufacturers would be well advised to do their utmost to assist her agricultural and industrial growth, either by direct investments or by extending or procuring credit for all legitimate new industries or expansion of existing ones. In the one case there would be every assurance of a reasonable profit from the investment itself : in the other case the risk could be reduced to a minimum by taking mortgages or other security which the borrower would be only too glad to offer. But at present, for a plantation, for example, or a cattle-ranch, or a municipal electric-lighting plant, given a proposition too small to warrant attempting the in any case difficult task of floating a bond issue, one has to have recourse to the commission houses for credit. They do not fill the need : they are loath to grant such long credits as are required ; their resources are often limited, and, moreover, they rarely have the same interest in the growth of their

client's enterprise as the manufacturer of agricultural machinery, plantation railways, or of electric supplies would have in the new outlet for goods that an expanding agricultural estate, let us say, or a new hydro-electric plant would furnish. Of course, individual initiative along such lines can only be expected from the very largest concerns, but the suggestion here put forward might well merit the systematic attention of manufacturers' associations, not alone in regard to Colombia, but to all the undeveloped Latin-American countries.

Stumbling-blocks to the growth of commercial intercourse with Colombia are many: some are caused by the faults of the foreign manufacturers themselves, which, though often called attention to, seem not yet on the road to cure. Sending out catalogues in any language but Spanish is practically useless: in fact, little can be accomplished merely by mail (what little might be done in small articles by the mail order business is to-day neglected). Commercial travellers must be sent out, and in this connection it is pleasing to note the steady improvement in the number and character of the travelling representatives, especially of American firms, where improvement was most needed. The much-beridiculed, language-ignorant, "dago"-despising, tobacco-chewing, grossly impolite type of Yankee "hustler" is rapidly disappearing. But the ignoring of the first requirements of packing to avoid additional customs and freight charges and to minimize the risks of damage and breakage due to severe transhipments, muleback journeys, and exposure to heat and wet, the failure to follow positive instructions, the substitution of articles, and the refusal to adapt goods to the wishes of purchasers still continue unabated. In these respects, the methods of the Germans and the French are unquestionably superior: it is believed in the

States that the English, too, are exempt from these faults, but they also often offend.[1]

Other more serious impediments to trade are the result of conditions in Colombia : first, the lack of transportation facilities and the high cost of freights, and second, the thoroughly unscientific, constantly fluctuating and exorbitantly high tariff, which makes importers cautious as to their commitments. Changes in the law and contradictory rulings and classifications are constantly being made, but never a change is made in the fundamentally vicious underlying principle of the present system of levying the duties entirely by the gross weight, regardless of value. A crude protectionist idea pervades the schedules in some particulars—perhaps the rate is raised a bit above the already high charges on similar products in order to foster infant domestic industries—cotton goods and shoes, sugar, wheat, flour, and the like ; but in general the tariff is for revenue with a vengeance. The duties on luxuries and necessities alike, in order to amass income to run the Government, are made as high as possible, just stopping short, occasionally even overstepping the limit, where the layer of the golden egg will be entirely killed. It is difficult for the merchants of the country to arouse the politicians to the needs of the situation : in every land the problem is difficult, but in Colombia especially the subject is too readily shirked and the much-needed tariff reform seems as distant as ever. Fear of decreasing the revenues, probably groundless, is the great deterrent. With the present system the Government knows more or less what to expect ; if an *ad valorem* basis be adopted, it is argued, skilled

[1] See Report of British Consulate at Medellin, reprinted in *Daily Consular Reports* (Washington), August 21, 1912 ; and the very valuable *Report on Trade Conditions in Colombia*, by Charles M. Pepper, of the Department of Commerce and Labour, Washington, 1907.

appraisers would be required, and Colombia could not supply them—the cost of administration and of collection would be augmented, frauds might increase, and there is no telling what even the gross revenues might be. At the present time the only *ad valorem* duty is on precious stones, which pay 10 per cent.; all other articles are ranged within sixteen classes, the first including such things as rough timber, rails, machinery of all kinds weighing over three tons, construction materials, and live animals, which are admitted free; the second class pays duty of $.017 gold a kilogram, and so on, up to the sixteenth, on which the duty is $2.55 a kilogram: still higher, though in this case reasonable, is the duty on cigars, not included in the sixteen general classes—$3.00 a kilogram. When it is remembered that the duty is calculated on the gross weight, including all wrappings and packings, necessarily heavy on account of the transportation and climate risks, it will be seen how exorbitant the tariff can be. The schedules make no distinctions of quality or value; cheap shoes, rancid butter, inferior silks pay at the same rate per kilo as the finest and most expensive. Many articles of many brands are consequently practically excluded. There are other inconveniences, too. The invoice and entry requirements are technical and complicated, and violation, however honest the mistake, results in heavy fines.

Then there are differential duties at some ports. All schedules bear a surtax of 70 per cent. Buenaventura pays only 75 per cent. of the original rates, plus the 70 per cent., Tumaco only 50 per cent.; Cúcuta pays a surtax of 35 per cent., not 70 per cent., and so forth, to bewilderment. The logical consequence is a system of interior customs duties so as to protect one zone which pays the highest duties from being invaded by certain classes of goods imported at a place that benefits by a reduced rate.

And still other *octrois* are in force to provide revenue for local governmental subdivisions, as if the difficulties of transportation were not impediment enough to trade.

Despite all, the domestic interchange of products between departments is not inconsiderable. Long ago, Reclus observed : " Settled in their high Andine citadels, the Colombians divide the work of agriculture and industry in such wise as to be self-sufficing by the domestic interchange of products. The cessation of all overseas commerce between Colombia and Europe would not result in any great inconvenience from the purely material point of view : her citizens would go without luxurious furniture and would content themselves with coarser clothing. The importance of their interior commerce gives to the growing foreign relations a basis of remarkable solidity." In addition to clothing, live-stock and articles of food—salt, sugar, coffee, cacao and chocolate, wheat—furnish the chief movement in domestic trade.

It is always interesting to follow the course of merchandise to the ultimate consumer. In the largest towns, as we have seen, there may be no need of middlemen, the importers being themselves the retailers ; but at their very side will flourish on their own small scale the little shops or *tiendas* patronized by the lower classes, which, while dealing rather in native products, will, nevertheless, retail some of the cheaper imported goods bought from their neighbours—cotton prints, hardware, and the like. A more valuable customer for the general store and importer is the shopkeeper from a neighbouring town or village, or from a distance of several days maybe, whose business, while large compared with that of the *tiendecita*, is not voluminous enough, or his ability, experience, or initiative too limited, to warrant his entering into direct relations with foreign

firms. Occasionally he may send in an order by mail or courier to some general store he is in the habit of patronizing, but, as a rule, he will make periodical visits to the city to buy a stock of general merchandise, as much as his purse or credit will procure, and personally supervise its carriage. This stock will last him two or three months, or perhaps six months or a year if he is very far away. If one line of articles becomes exhausted before the rest of his stock is sufficiently depleted to warrant another trip to the city, he will make no effort to replenish it, but will be quite content to answer a would-be purchaser with that ever-recurring phrase, "*No hay, señor!*" ("There isn't any, sir!"), and the purchaser, after making the round of the other shops, if any, in the particular town and getting probably the same answer, will do without his shirt or his mousetrap, or paper and ink, whichever it was he was after, also apparently quite contented unless he be a foreigner, who will say, "You never can get anything in this blessed country," which remark, if his residence in the country be of long duration, he will have made several dozen times before and gone away at heart as patient and contented as the native.

The wholesalers may have, though rarely, retail branches of their own in the smaller towns, but they never send out drummers; to a small extent these are replaced by itinerant traders (*antioqueños* mostly, loquacious, sociable fellows, shrewd as they make them, dearly loving a joke but more dearly a bargain, ever ready to swap a story, a horse, or a stock of goods) who go from town to town with their wares, buying here, selling there, as opportunity offers. Then there are the markets and the fairs: the importance of a town is gauged by the attendance at its markets, held on stated days once a week, Sundays usually, or perhaps twice a week. The countryfolk,

MARKET AT BARRANQUILLA.

MARKET AT CARTAGO.

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rising at dawn, will bring the products of their fields or their fingers to market, the whole family coming ambling along by the side of their heavily laden horses or mules; the less fortunate ones will bring their truck on their backs or jauntily balanced —this the women—on their heads. The distance they will often trudge to market to sell their shilling's worth is incredible—the Indians especially will come their 15 or 20 miles on foot and then back again at night to their little mountain abodes. The fairs are gatherings held at the more important towns whenever the local spirit every year or two moves. Dealers come from far and wide. Cattle trading is the chief business, but gambling and drinking seem the principal occupations. One or two of these fairs, like that of Pereira, held with greater regularity, have acquired fame, and a very important volume of trade is carried on during the one or two weeks they last.

There is much then that is primitive in the business methods still in vogue in Colombia. In the remote interior towns much survives of the old customs of the Spanish colonial days, and as far as many places are concerned whose isolation is likely to continue, such a picture as we have drawn will probably remain on the canvas for several generations more.

CHAPTER X

AGRICULTURE[1]

To form an idea of the agriculture and the agricultural products of Colombia the reader must free his mind of any idea that it is wholly a tropical country. Of course, it is situated in the tropics, and the first sight the traveller has of the country is undoubtedly tropical, but climate and temperature are a matter of elevation. From this standpoint, agricultural Colombia can be considered as divided into four zones: first, the coast zone, both on the Atlantic and Pacific, very hot and damp all the year round; second, the hinterland and valleys to an elevation of 3,000 feet; third, the low hills and first ranges of the Andes to an elevation of 6,000 feet; and fourth, the higher ranges and plateaux from 6,000 feet up.

Climatic conditions are entirely different in all these zones and even between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. In the former the seasons are well marked: from December to May dry, and from June to November wet and very wet. On the Pacific coast it rains practically every day in the year. Both are hot and damp, the temperature going every day to 95° F. This also refers to the Magdalena Valley as far up as Girardot.

[1] This chapter has been written by Mr. Charles J. Eder, whose experience of over twenty years as manager of large plantations and cattle ranches in Colombia qualifies him to speak with authority.

In the second zone, such as the Cauca Valley, conditions are entirely different ; two dry and two wet seasons alternate, January, February, and March dry ; April, May, and June wet ; July, August, and September dry ; and October, November, and December wet. Temperature varies between 64° and 84° every day, with an average of 76° F.

The third zone is about the same as the second as regards rains, but these are somewhat more frequent. Temperature ranges at 6,000 feet from 58° to 72°.

In the fourth zone, from 6,000 to 9,000 feet, the temperature ranges at the latter elevation from 40° to 64°, with occasional frosts.

The Pacific coast zone is only suitable for tagua and rubber, on account of the practically constant rains. Plantains, bananas, and corn are raised, but on a very small scale. Towards the south the climate changes again and has less rain, and here are seen, besides the products mentioned, some cattle. There does not seem to be an immediate future in this section, due to unfavourable climatic conditions and the very sparse population. On the Atlantic coast and in the Magdalena Valley are raised bananas, tagua, rubber, cacao, sugar cane, corn, and cattle. This latter was at one time quite a large industry in the *llanos*, which for our purpose can be classed with the Atlantic zone. These *llanos*, Casanare, San Martin, Bolivar, Ayapel, together with the Magdalena Valley and to the south of the Sierra Nevada, are immense plains covered with grass, said to be excellent for grazing cattle, and certainly some of the stock from them seems to prove this. The industry has declined very much, however, and the population is scanty.

The second zone seems to be especially adapted for sugar cane, coffee, cacao, corn, cotton, and cattle : the third zone for coffee, corn, beans, yucca, arracacha, cotton, cattle, and table vegetables :

the fourth zone for all the last named, and in addition wheat, barley and the other cereals, and potatoes.

Agriculture as a science is not known in Colombia with the exception of one or two isolated cases. Where it seems to be most developed is on the savannah of Bogotá, where one can see some ploughs, cultivators, and harvesting machinery in operation (American manufacture). The chief agricultural pursuits are as follows, in the order named as to their importance: Grazing of cattle both for breeding and fattening; the breeding industry, including horses and mules; plaintains, corn, beans, sugar, coffee, wheat, bananas (as distinguished from plaintains), vegetables in the high lands, especially potatoes, yuccas, arracachas, cereals; also in the high lands, hats, cacao, and cotton. The natural products, such as rubber and tagua, copal gum, cocoanuts, I do not take into consideration at all, as it is impossible to form an idea as to their value, with the exception of tagua. Then follow, on a very small scale, rice and goat and sheep raising. Swine, of course, are raised, but I hardly know where to put them in their order of importance, as practically every small farmer has one or more, but they are rarely raised in quantities.

We will now take up each industry separately.

Cattle.—The industry of horned cattle is undoubtedly the largest of any in Colombia, being found all over the country, both in the hot valleys and the cool highlands. As there are no statistics it is impossible to give any figures concerning the total number in the country. Some States have published statistics concerning the number supposed to exist in them, but there is no relying on these figures, as Colombians have had too many revolutions and are too much afraid of taxes to give the correct data, thinking it is either for confiscation or taxes that the

authorities want these figures ; and perhaps they are right. The stock as such is not bad, but hardly any attempts are made to improve the breed. There are a few exceptions around Bogotá, where Durhams and Polled Angus have been imported, and in Medellin a few Ayrshire, and in the Cauca Valley one attempt only to improve the breed with an imported Indian bull, which so far has given good results. It is practically impossible to acclimate good stock from Bogotá in the hot countries, as, it never being hot or even warm in the former place, it gives better results to import from the south of the United States towards the close of the summer there. In Bogotá climate conditions and food are such that good stock can be easily fed as in its native home, and it does not suffer from heat or any obnoxious insects. The difficulty is getting the stock there, and the risks are very great.

A fully grown *native* steer, well fattened, will weigh some 1,200 lb. on the hoof. Of course there are exceptions, especially with some crossed breeds. Then again weights depend upon where the stock comes from. Undoubtedly it is around Bogotá, due to imported blood, good climate and good feed, that the best stock is seen, whereas in the south of Colombia around Pasto is probably where the worst is found. The principal breeding centres are : the *llanos,* the Cauca Valley, and the Patia Valley. Absolutely no care is bestowed on the animals ; the cows graze and drop their calves out in the open, and large herds of steers fatten with only one man to look after them. When any animal dies it is always " pest." The most careful owners only give salt once a month and every now and then take out a few maggots. Colombians being great believers in Providence, it is only natural that they should leave the care of their stock to the Lord. Only lately have a few owners been taking measures

towards the prevention of symptomatic charbon (blackleg). Hardly any attempt is made to prevent the pest of ticks, which is very prevalent in certain sections of the country, especially Tolima. Here the method is to burn the grass every year with the object of burning the ticks.

Dairying is in a very primitive state. Cows give only an average of two quarts of milk a day, and do not give up their milk unless the calf is tied to them. Cheese is too good a name for the stuff that is turned out. The following is the method of manufacture: the milk is put in a long, narrow dug-out, cut out from the log of a tree, then the rennet (calves' stomach) is immersed and is moved along in this dug-out for a few minutes and then allowed to stand until the milk curdles. Once curdled it is pressed down by hand until the whey rises, and when this has all been removed the stuff remaining, called cheese, is rubbed continually for about half an hour with the hands, and when of sufficient consistency coarse salt is added and the mass is pressed in wooden moulds of different sizes. This, strange to say, sells at an average price of 15 c. a pound, ranging as low as 10 c. and as high as 30 c. Butter in most towns is a luxury, being worth as much as 60 to 70 c. a pound, in the Cauca, for a whitish rancid substance given this name.

It is mostly in these so-called dairies that blackleg is prevalent, as the calves are separated from the cows at about 3 or 4 p.m. in small pens where there generally is nothing to eat or drink. Next morning about 5 a.m. the cows are driven into a corral without shade, and milking is continued until 12 or 1 p.m., the animals in the meantime having nothing to eat or drink. In the dry season these corrals are covered with six inches of dust and in the rainy season with twelve inches of mud.

Cattle prices are going up continually, a good

cow with calf being worth from $50 to $60, one-year-old calves $20, and fat steers from $50 to $60. Profits are large, since, as already stated, no care or expense is bestowed on the animals, three or four men being sufficient to look after a great many. Above conditions and prices refer to the Cauca Valley, but the general method of managing stock is the same all over the country.

Hides constitute a valuable article for export, amounting in 1911 to 4,449,475 kilos (roughly, 406,000 hides, valued at $1,779,790); besides, the native industry of tanning seems to be fairly well developed, especially in Pasto.

I think there will be a great development of the cattle industry in the near future as meat becomes dearer and dearer in the United States. The *llanos* offer a good field, as they are well situated, with easy access to the ports on the Atlantic coast, where packing houses may be built one of these days. The Cauca Valley, some of the Tolima plains, and the Patia Valley, and the southern slopes of the Sierra Nevada, seem to be especially adapted for breeding cattle, but the difficulties of getting to the coast are still great.

Good para pastures in the Cauca are worth quite $28 per acre, and hold one and a half head per acre. Profits range from $8 to $12 per head per year, so the returns may be reckoned at $15 per acre per year, with the great advantage that practically no labour is needed once the grass is in good condition.

In the colder regions up in the hills, fattening in pastures of clover and rye-grass seems to give excellent results, with a yield perhaps better than para.

All these pastures last for years, perhaps one hundred and more, with practically no care excepting every now and then a cleaning of the weeds.

If in poor condition, a cleaning, then burning and allowing them to rest during the rainy season for three or four months, seems to restore them to a good condition again.

Horse and mule breeding is not quite so extensive. Around Bogotá, Percherons, Hackneys, Studs, and very good Spanish and French Jacks have been imported. Good large-sized saddle mules are in great demand, and worth anywhere from $150 to $300 each, according to their gait. In the Cauca a Hackney and some Peruvian studs (famous for their easy riding gait) have been imported, as also some Percherons from Bogotá, but these latter are not a success where the climate is hot. Ordinary cargo mules are worth from $50 to $60, according to size. Horses range from $30 for cargo purposes to as high as $400 for good easy-going saddle animals. The breed is practically Arab where attention has been paid to picking out the sires. Generally they are small, a fourteen-hand horse being considered big. They are strong and can stand quite a deal of riding, especially considering that no care is bestowed on them. Mares vary from $20 to as high as $120 when of a good size and saddle-broken with an easy gait.

Plantains.—This is the staple food of all the people in the hot countries, and there is not a farm or yard where some are not grown, although it should not be called cultivation, as the stump used for propagating is simply stuck in the ground and allowed to grow. Every now and then the weeds are cleared, and when the fruit is ripe it is cut down, and the suckers grow until they in their turn bear their fruit and are cut down, and so on for years. Rich and poor alike eat plantains, either green, half, or fully ripe ; the first for making soup and the others as vegetables, either boiled, fried, or roasted, or in lieu of bread. This is essentially a poor man's

crop, although large profits are made at times. Under unfavourable weather conditions the price of this staple goes up as high as $1.50 the *guango* (about sixty-four plantains). Needless to say that plantains will not grow above an elevation of 6,000 feet, and at this elevation the quality is poor. Plantains need a hot climate and a damp soil to develop and bear well.

Maize.—This is cultivated all over Colombia, from the sea coasts to the highest altitudes. People living in these latter sections eat more corn than those living in the warm sections. In the high elevations only one crop a year is obtained, whereas from sea-level to 3,000 feet two crops a year are easily produced, and I believe in certain favoured sections, under proper cultivation and irrigation, three crops should be no difficult matter. No pretence is made to a rational cultivation. The method is as follows : the wood, brush, or weeds are burned, and then the seed planted in holes made with a stick of wood at distances varying from three to six feet, according to the soil, and two or three seeds to the hole. Three weeks after planting, a cleaning is given by hand with a small shovel to remove the weeds, and lo and behold ! five months after you crop as good a crop as you can take off in the States. This, of course, refers to the rich and fertile valleys and not to the hills. In these latter, the returns are not as large, although two crops a year are gathered ; but there is the advantage of being able to keep the corn longer, as it is not so prone to weevils. Generally speaking there are no estates devoted especially and exclusively, exception made of some near Bogotá, to corn on a big scale. Corn is not fed to stock, and to horses only on a small scale, and these belonging to rich owners. One of these days there will be a rich field in this line, when land becomes more valuable and perhaps when the

corn can be exported, and grazing will have to give way to feeding stock scientifically. To-day corn is only raised as food for human beings. Prices vary very much, like everything else in Colombia, due to lack of good roads ; in some parts of the country the price may be so low that it hardly pays the farmer, and at the same time, in others, it will be as high as $3.20 a bushel.

Beans are extensively cultivated in some sections, such as Antioquia, where they constitute the staple food, together with corn. No cultivation whatever exists on large estates, every small settler planting a small patch. They grow practically everywhere.

Sugar.—This is without doubt the greatest favourite, after cattle, of all products in Colombia, as everywhere all over the country, from the coast to as high an elevation as the cane will grow, 6,000 to 7,000 feet, one meets with sugar-cane patches and plantations.

This industry is still in a very primitive condition, with two exceptions : Sincerin, on the Atlantic coast near Cartagena, and *La Manuelita*, in the Cauca Valley. Both these are modern up-to-date factories, with double crushers, triple effects, vacuum pans, centrifugals, etc. The others all range from little hand-mills made of pieces of round wood and horse-power vertical mills to mills driven by water-power. With the exception of the two factories mentioned, the method of manufacture is the same in all : open evaporation and the sugar cleaned by means of mud allowed to percolate slowly through the *masse-cuite* in earthen moulds of a conical shape. Cured thus two or three times, the moulds are turned over, and the result is what is called loaf sugar, more or less white and rather more than less dirty and full of impurities.

The sections where sugar-cane seems to grow best and is most developed are, in the order named, the

LA MANUELITA SUGAR FACTORY.

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Cauca Valley, Cundinamarca, Santander, Antioquia, and the Atlantic coast. The Cauca has the advantage both of climate and of level ground, whereas in the next three States mentioned the areas given over to its cultivation are generally broken, the level parts being comparatively very small. On the Atlantic coast the crops have to be taken off the same as in Cuba and the other Antilles, that is, from December to May, as from June on the heavy rains prevent regular work. In the Cauca climatic conditions are very favourable, although it takes the cane longer to mature—fifteen to eighteen months, as there are four seasons, two dry and two wet, alternately. It is sometimes found profitable, however, to cut at twelve to fifteen months. Reaping and manufacture of sugar go on all the year round. During the most rainy seasons, in the months of April and November, perhaps work may be delayed, but never actually stopped, for three or four days in each month. On the Atlantic coast the heat and humidity are very great, whereas in the Cauca it is never oppressive. In the other States mentioned perhaps the temperature is a little too low during the nights to get the full benefit from this plant, and the lack of big valleys militates against its development on a large scale. On the Atlantic coast, outside of Sincerin and small plantations in the Santa Marta section, it cannot be said to be extensively cultivated.

The tonnage per acre in the Cauca in favourable years is as much as 80 tons of cane, without any other cultivation given than a mere hand-cleaning with small shovels. The lowest average known, due to prolonged drought and locusts, is 24 tons per acre, and under normal conditions the average is 50 tons to the acre. No fertilizers or manures of any kind are applied ; but the soil is so fertile that there are still plantations under cultivation that are known to have given cane continuously

for a hundred and twenty years. The usual run of cane is of very good purity, and produces very good sugar. In exceptional years I have seen canes 20 feet long, without the tops, and of fair diameter. I have seen time and again canes $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter. White sugar for home consumption can be turned out in the Cauca for $1\frac{3}{4}$ c. per pound, and export sugar with good machinery for $1\frac{1}{4}$ c. per pound.

This industry requires a good deal of labour, but in the more populated sections of the country little difficulty is found, as the *peon* likes to work on sugar plantations, as he can and does chew pretty well all the cane he can hold, and, judging from appearances, he seems satisfied to be able to fill himself up with cane juice. He would prefer *aguardiente*, but fortunately this is a Government monopoly and is expensive. The by-products from sugar factories have no outlet except as food for stock and for the little denatured alcohol and the *aguardiente* distilled under Government contracts or sub-contracts.

Very little molasses is fed to stock, so there is a good field for some enterprising stock-raiser to fatten cattle with this at low prices when sugar is cheap. There may be a field for alcohol for motors and lighting purposes, but this is rather remote, as the education the Colombian receives, when he receives any at all, is along anything but mechanical lines, and a good many years will pass before the care of an internal combustion engine, or any other kind of engine, can be entrusted to him.

Where perhaps the greatest area of cane is under cultivation is in Cundinamarca, but for the purpose not of making sugar but syrup, which is then fermented with corn and called "*chicha*." This beverage is very popular with the working classes, and they get drunk on it as often as they can. This form of intoxication seems to be about the worst

of all, as it not only brutalizes the people, but renders them exceedingly stupid in a short time.

Panela.—The manufacture of this article of food (it looks and tastes very much like maple sugar) is quite large all over Colombia, although each individual mill is very small, the biggest of them being horse-power. It is made from sea-level to altitudes of 6,000 feet, and the acreage under cultivation must be very big. The process of manufacture is simple : the cane juice is boiled in open evaporators until sufficiently thick, then it is run into wooden moulds, where it hardens into cakes weighing 1 lb. each. As an article of food it is superior to sugar, and forms a great staple for all classes.

Coffee can be and is grown from a few hundred feet above sea-level to about 7,000 feet. As an article of export it is the most valuable of all products in Colombia. It is cultivated pretty well all over the country, and especially in Cundinamarca, Santander, Antioquia, Caldas, Cauca, Tolima, and on the northern slopes of the Sierra Nevada, probably in the order named.

A good deal of Santander coffee exported through Venezuela reaches the market under the name of Maracaibo. The total annual exportations from Colombia are about 600,000 sacks, worth about ten million dollars. Home consumption is quite an item, as the Colombians are great coffee-drinkers. Exports in 1911, from official figures, were 37,899,968 kilos, valued at $9,500,000. Of this 407,932 kilos, valued at $109,568 (about 6,000 sacks), were exported from Santa Marta ; Caldas exports about 90,000 sacks, and the Cauca about 30,000. I have not been able to get the figures for the other States.

The coffee grown in the higher altitudes is milder and fetches a higher price, but the trees do not

bear as much nor do they last as long. It is easier, too, to form a plantation at elevations from 5,000 feet up, as there is no need for shade trees, which are necessary at the lower elevations. Very few plantations exist below 2,000 feet, as the climate as a rule is too damp and population scarce—great drawbacks, as coffee needs a lot of labour at crop time, and when the climate is damp there is too much difficulty in drying.

The returns from plantations vary very much, depending on the price of freights and also on the labour obtainable at crop times, as it is a strange thing that most labourers are decidedly averse to working in coffee plantations, probably due to the dampness and lack of pure air in them. Water, too, seems to become polluted from so much vegetation and from the skins of the pulped fruit. As with other crops, practically no cultivation is undertaken except cleaning off the weeds either with a shovel or machetes two or three times a year. In some sections pruning is undertaken, but, as a rule, without method, so that more harm than good is done.

It takes from three to four years for trees to begin to bear, and they do not reach their full maturity till about six years old. The average production is about 1 lb. per tree a year, except in some exceptional plantations where irrigation and good cultivation are applied. Water is the most necessary thing to produce good crops, as this plant exacts plenty of it and at the right time. Under favourable conditions and with fair cultivation a plantation will give as much as $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb. per tree a year. Two crops are taken off every year: the principal one in March or April, and a smaller one in October or November. Small pickings go on all the year through. It is no uncommon sight to see trees bearing at the same

time both blossoms and fruit (berries) in all stages of development.

From figures in the Cauca Valley, it costs about 8 c. per pound to place coffee in New York. As with everything else in Colombia, it is impossible to give exact figures, due to fluctuations in freights (mule) and exchange. To-day Colombian coffee is worth in New York from 17 c. to 18½ c. per pound. In the Cauca Valley, where plantations will last some fifty to sixty years, 720 trees are planted to the acre ; in the hills more, but the life of the trees is less.

The section that seems to have the best future before it for this crop is the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, due to its good geographical position, if sufficient labour can be secured, as the rate of freight in comparison with other parts of Colombia is low and steamship service good. This question of freights is the great drawback in other sections of the country, as all transportation has to be, at least in part, on muleback, which is expensive. The Cauca Valley is well adapted for coffee, and if the railroad, which will reach the valley next year, would only carry it at a low rate, there is a chance of its developing into a large industry. I say chance because the difficulty of getting the sufficient quantity of labour, especially women and children, who can pick more and at less cost than men, is very great, and it is useless thinking of importing it, as there is practically nothing to employ it in between crop times. Where labour seems to be most plentiful, and willing to work in the plantations, is in Antioquia, Santander, Cundinamarca, Boyacá, and Caldas ; but again the matter of freight is an obstacle, as from all these regions it has to be moved partly on muleback for long distances and partly in boats down the Magdalena River.

Cocoa, called *cacao*.—This is but little cultivated

in Colombia, the main States being Tolima and Cauca. The Colombians do not care much for this crop, as it does not begin to produce till about six to eight years after planting, and requires ten to twelve years to reach full maturity. Two pounds per tree per year can easily be reckoned on from a plantation well looked after. Trees are planted 270 to the acre, and 12 c. net profit per tree per year may easily be reckoned on, year in and year out, and with but little work in harvesting, as it does not require much labour and no machinery of any kind. It is rather a delicate plant, however, and requires more care and attention than the average Colombian is willing to bestow on it.

The Magdalena and Cauca Valleys are especially adapted to its cultivation, particularly the latter, as the bean produced there is of superior quality and fetches a higher price than any other. I have seen plantations over sixty years old still bearing good crops.

Wheat and the other cereals will grow at elevations from 7,000 feet up. The Sierra Nevada is exceptionally well situated for this purpose, and has some good lands well watered for its cultivation. In the interior all the high plateaux from this elevation up are suitable. Where the industry is most developed is in Cundinamarca, Boyacá, and parts of Santander, its value being reckoned as quite $7\frac{1}{2}$ million dollars a year. The plateaux near Popayan and Pasto produce some wheat to-day, but little, and there is a good opening for this industry in these latter places, as labour is quite plentiful and of a better class than negroes, as at these altitudes only Indians are found, the negro as a rule being averse to going anywhere where it is even cool. I have not been able to get any figures of returns, but should say it must pay very well indeed, as the price of flour is high.

Bananas.—This industry is increasing rapidly on

CACAO AND MADRE DE CACAO TREES.

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the Atlantic coast, fostered by the United Fruit Company, the port for shipment being Santa Marta. A German company is developing plantations in the Gulf of Urabá.

There are some 30,000 acres under cultivation in the Santa Marta section, of which 8,000 belong to the United Fruit. It is said that there are still over 120,000 acres of land in the same section available for its cultivation.

This plant needs irrigation. The River Sevilla can irrigate 1,500 acres more than are already under cultivation; the Tucurinca and Fundacion Rivers 25,000 acres more, and the Arracataca 7,500 acres more. Thus far does the Santa Marta Railway run, but its policy is to continue extending the road as new plantations are opened up. No cultivation has as yet been undertaken on lands that can be irrigated by the River Ariguani. Most of the undeveloped land belongs to the Government. It costs about $50 per acre to clear, burn, plant, and clean till the first crop—one year after planting—and the returns are $33 nett per acre per year.

Cotton is only cultivated on a small scale, in Antioquia and the Atlantic coast. Trees are found wild all over the country from a few feet above sea-level to the high altitudes, but no use seems to be made of the fibre, even by the poor classes. Where mills have been erected (Antioquia, Atlantic coast, Santander, and Boyacá) they have fostered the cultivation of the plant, which is a perennial about 12 feet high, but, like most other plantations, little care is bestowed on it. In Antioquia the chief milling company bought cotton in 1907 of the value of $6,920, in 1908 of $31,000, in 1909 of $43,000, in 1910 of $62,000, in 1911 of $110,000, so it looks as if there were a future for it wherever there may be an incentive to cultivate it. With present freights, cultivation for export seems inadvisable.

Potatoes, yuccas, arracachas are cultivated all over the country at not less than 5,000 to 6,000 feet, and form staples of food for the people living there and supply the population in the valleys. On the coast the people eat imported potatoes from the States.

Panama Hats.—This industry has been growing quite considerably in the past few years, and is especially developed in Antioquia, Tolima, and Nariño. The altitude most favourable for the growth and good quality of the straw of the palm seems to be from 5,000 feet up.

In 1911 there were exported 93,784 kilos, valued at $1,088,821.

Fibre.—This is indeed but a very small industry, yet the Colombians supply themselves with the necessary fibre for the manufacture of ropes and coarse string. A few sacks are made in Cundinamarca and Nariño. All the rest necessary for exporting coffee, cacao, and sugar has to be imported. The cactus from which it is derived, called locally "cabulla," and somewhat similar to the Yucatan hennequen, grows pretty well everywhere and at all altitudes. Some farmers plant it out as fences, for which purpose it serves well.

RÉSUMÉ.—As will be seen from the above, there is but little agricultural development taking the country as a whole. This is due more than anything else to lack of roads, as a good many products raised in the interior of the country cannot compete for home consumption with imported goods, in spite of heavy duties. Then, again, such parts of the country as are inhabited are fairly densely populated, but too far away from each other to develop intercourse in business on a large scale.

For practical purposes it can be said that the Magdalena watershed—with the exception of a few isolated settlements in the *llanos* of Ayapel and Corozal—the *llanos* of Casanare, San Martin, and Patia, the Chocó,

Caquetá, and Putumayo *selvas* are unpopulated. These constitute quite two-thirds of the entire area of the country. The Cordillera slopes, again, are but very sparsely populated, great sections of the Western and Central entirely devoid of any inhabitants. The greatest centres of population are in Boyacá, Cundinamarca, Antioquia, Caldas, parts of Santander, parts of the Atlantic coast, the Cauca Valley, and parts of Nariño around Pasto, probably in the order named.

The chief products of each State are as follows :

Boyacá.—Potatoes, wheat, corn, beans, vegetables, cattle, and horses. Sugar and coffee but little. The populated part of this State is the most dense in the whole country, and is probably the poorest. Labour mostly Indian.

Cundinamarca.—Potatoes, wheat, very good cattle, horses, corn, sugar, coffee. Probably the most advanced of all the States. Labour mostly Indian.

Antioquia.—Coffee, hats, cotton, and sugar, cattle-fattening. A very hard-working and clever people, nearly all white.

Tolima.—Cacao, sugar, coffee, rice, hats, and cattle, although this latter is not very good.

Atlantic Coast.—Bananas, corn, sugar, cacao, coffee around Santa Marta ; cotton around Barranquilla, and sugar around Cartagena.

Nariño.—Hats, wheat, aniseed, potatoes, vegetables, cattle. This latter poor. Population nearly all Indian.

Caldas.—Coffee, cattle, corn, beans, potatoes. Nearly all white.

Cauca Valley.—Sugar, coffee, cacao, cattle, and horses. Labour nearly all black.

Cauca.—Coffee, cattle, wheat, corn. Labour mostly Indian.

Santander.—Coffee, sugar, corn, cotton, cattle. Good people, white, and hard workers.

Pacific Coast.—Practically all virgin forest. Below the rain-belt near Tumaco there are a few negro settlements living on cattle, corn, and a little sugar.

Given means of transportation, the industries, in my opinion, that will redeem Colombia are cattle, sugar, coffee, and bananas.

The sections most favourably situated are the Sierra Nevada, and once the railroad is built into the valley and the Canal open, the Cauca Valley. In the Sierra Nevada region proper, that is, the high lands, I do not think there are many suitable flats, but only small valleys and hill-sides.

For cattle undoubtedly the Bolivar and eastern *llanos* and the valley of the Cauca will be the first to be developed on a large scale for export, especially the first, as being nearer the United States markets. Tolima plains and Patia Valley being well in the interior, there is not much hope of getting stock out of them at a reasonable price. For sugar we can look to the Atlantic coast, on account of its situation, as freight is there a minor matter. In the Cauca Valley, when the railroad is finished and the Canal open, there is a very big future for this industry on account of the fertility of the soil, the good climate, and a fair population. The development of coffee can be expected all over the country where there is sufficient population, but especially in the Sierra Nevada region, due to its good position, and bananas on the Atlantic coast.

There is plenty of room for development and plenty of opportunities if the settler is careful in studying conditions, transportation, and population.

Tracts of land suitable for clearing can be obtained either from the Government or from private owners at a reasonable cost. Titles are secure, and in general date back a long period of time ; the chief difficulty occasionally met with is in the case of *indivisos,* where there are a number of owners in

common, due to estates being handed down for generations without any partition proceedings being had and undivided interests being conveyed or transmitted. The disentanglement of an *indiviso* of long standing is a tedious and costly proceeding, dragging on for years. Owing, also, to the vagueness of early grants, boundary disputes are another fruitful source of litigation, and disputes over water rights are occasionally troublesome. But, of course, in none of these respects is Colombia unique : agricultural countries in all parts of the tropics are in the same condition. The vast majority of titles in Colombia, however, are perfectly good, and the foreigner, acting under proper legal advice, can purchase with safety. In buying undeveloped land, he will occasionally run up against an exaggerated idea of values. The use of paper money seems to have had a decided influence, by accustoming people to think in millions, in inflating the prices at which privately owned forest lands are held. The fact of the matter is, that the Colombian in general has no real idea of the practical value of undeveloped lands, and if asked to name his price will generally ask an absurd figure. Then as soon as he gets the idea that some one really wants an estate, he decides it must be worth keeping for himself, forgetting that he and his ancestors have never obtained any profit out of it themselves. But in spite of such occasional obstacles, there is no real difficulty in picking up at fair valuations, often even at bargain prices, good lands suitable for agricultural development. The future permanent wealth of Colombia will be in its agriculture.

CHAPTER XI [1]

MINES AND FORESTS

IT was lust for gold that spurred on the Spanish conquerors ; in the colonial epoch, gold mining was the great source of wealth ; in modern times, the mineral industry has been the principal occupation of one great section of Colombia, and to-day it is the country's unbounded and undoubted mineral wealth, even more than its agricultural, commercial, or industrial possibilities, that is attracting the attention of foreign investors and fortune-seekers.

The past history of the land and the unanimous reports of all observers well justify this present-day interest. The rich deposits are there — barely scratched even by the past extraction of hundreds of millions' worth. It needs but the overcoming of obstacles, obstacles that in the past often have been insuperable and still at times render the cost of operation incommensurate with the returns, to make of Colombia one of the great mining countries of the world. As it is, her rôle has been and is no insignificant one.

The Spanish Conquistadores seized enormous quan-

[1] The earlier statistics and historical facts in this chapter have been obtained chiefly from Regel, Jalhay, the volume on the Republic of Colombia, published by the New York Consulate in 1896 and the annual volumes of the *Mineral Industry*. Later data have been obtained from official publications, technical periodicals, and from information kindly furnished by a number of mining companies and engineers.

tities of gold that had been amassed by the Indians, but more important in the eyes of their victims had been *salt*. The rock-salt of Zipaquira and Nemocón (Cundinamarca) which the Chibchas mined, was one of the main bases of their wealth and power. The Spaniards continued working the same deposits, but in the most primitive manner, until better methods were introduced pursuant to Humboldt's suggestions. Being under Government operation — salt is a monopoly—it is not surprising that the methods have not since kept up with the times, although improvements are from time to time made ; recently, for instance, electric lighting has been installed in the galleries of the Zipaquira mine. Besides Nemocón and Zipaquira, salt is mined or evaporated from salt springs in small quantities, principally at Tausa, Sesquilé, Chita, and Muneque, all in the Eastern Cordillera ; it is also found in a few places in the Western and Central Cordilleras, but its production there is insignificant, although left to individual initiative. The really rich sources are monopolized by the Government, and the profits derived therefrom are an important part of the national revenues.

The production of the principal salt mines for 1905 was as follows :

	Kilograms.	Value Dollars.
Zipaquira	7,866,000	269,423
Nemocón	4,211,000	90,595
Sesquilé	1,535,000	31,919

In 1907 the total *gross* product of the marine and terrestrial salines reached $1,153,019, of which the marine (nearly all on the Atlantic coast) produced $584,230.83, and the terrestrial (about 20,000 tons) was : Zipaquira, $524,786 ; Chameza and Recetor, $4,414.63 ; Chita and Muneque, $35,504 ; Cumaral and Upin, $4,101. In 1908 the Zipaquira mine alone produced gross $555,331 and net $375,554.

The President's message to Congress (1912) reports the net proceeds of the marine salt works in 1911 at $116,889, and of Zipaquira in 1910, $316,755, and in 1911, gross $460,896, net $373,287 ; it does not give data as to other salines. The Zipaquira Mine is reported by one engineer to contain 500 million cubic metres of salt, of a weight of more than a billion kilograms. The amount of salt sold at Zipaquira from 1778 to 1907 inclusive, according to official data, was 739,220 tons, of a value of $24,187,017. The mines of Cumaral and Upin, practically untouched for lack of roads to the points of consumption, are also reported to be wonderfully rich, sufficient to supply the whole Republic for generations and generations.

Another Government monopoly is that of the famous mines of Muzo, which furnish the finest emeralds in the world. In 1909 the Government entered into a partnership contract with an English company, *The Colombian Emerald Mining Company, Ltd.*, controlled by South African diamond interests, for the exploitation of these wonderful deposits, but suit has been brought to rescind the agreement on grounds which do little credit to either the company or the representatives of the former administration who made the contract. A settlement is likely, and with improved methods a considerable expansion in production may be looked forward to. A very interesting account of these mines was given by Mr. Charles Olden to the Institution of Mining, December 21, 1911,[1] from which we take the liberty, with the kind permission of the Institution, of quoting :

"With the exception of those occurring in Colombia, there are no known deposits of emeralds in South America, notwithstanding statements to the contrary.

[1] *Transactions*, vol. xxi., pp. 193–209.

"In Colombia there are several deposits. The chief is that now known as the Muzo and Cosquez Mines. There are also those known as the Somondoco mines and other of less importance. Most if not all of the emeralds are found in the Department of Boyacá. The Muzo and Cosquez mines are situated about 90 miles NNW. of Bogotá. The Somondoco mines are approximately 30 to 35 miles east of Bogotá. Between these two deposits emeralds have been met, both as single gems and as deposits, but they have not as yet proved to be of first class quality. . . .

"*Geographical.*—Situated on a spur of the Eastern Cordillera of the Andes, the Muzo emerald deposits lie in a natural valley somewhat resembling a funnel in shape. They lie from 20 to 150 metres above the valley, and the establishment stands about half way between these extremes, the slopes on both sides being steep, almost to perpendicular in places. Mining operations are carried on at various points simultaneously at altitudes ranging from 3,000 to 4,000 feet above sea-level. The approaches to the mines from the surrounding country are difficult, and transport is rendered tedious by reason of the bad state in which the roads are allowed to remain . . . mules are employed for transportation. The time required to reach rail-head varies from two and a half to three days. . . .

"*Labour.*—All the native workers are pure Indians, indigenous to the locality. The men are not recruited from the immediate neighbourhood, but are drawn from districts at least a day's journey away from the mines. . . . The Indians are engaged for terms of not less than three months; during this time [for obvious reasons] they are not permitted to leave the establishment, except by special permission from the management. As there is but one way into the mines, it is not difficult to keep track of the men. Excellent arrangements exist as to housing, feeding, medical attendance, baths, wash-houses and other benefits for the comfort and well-being of the men. All are fed free, and there is no limit placed upon the rations of fresh meat, vegetables, etc., supplied. For the accommodation of the small boys who have elected to accompany their elders to the mines, school is provided.

"*Geology.*—The Muzo emeralds occur in calcite veins traversing black carboniferous[1] limestone, in which are found ammonites and other fossil remains, which fix the age of the deposit as Lower Cretaceous. . . . The veins vary in width from a mere streak less than 1 inch wide up to 18 or 24 inches, but these wider veins are not held in favour, as the gems are more frequently found in the small veins.

"The emerald occurs at Muzo only in its calcite or its limestone matrix."

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[1] Corrected to "carbonaceous," p. 208.

The writer, after describing the working methods, goes on to say :

"A bank may prove absolutely valueless after months of work upon it. Despite the greatest care in the selection of the locality for starting the work, no one can estimate the probable value of any particular section of a deposit. In this respect emerald mining differs from most of the other branches of the industry. The lack of conformity exhibited by the calcite veins as to dip, strike, or continuity in any one direction, deprives the engineer of all ordinary data upon which he could depend in forming a judgment, and the usual element of chance is much increased when dealing with the elusive emerald. There is little risk, however, in cutting down a bank immediately adjacent to a productive mine, as the veins can be followed into the new ground with reasonable prospects of success. Wherever the veins show they are followed, even if this entails cutting down a bank 100 feet high. Once a productive formation is found it is never left until it is worked out, and this may prove to be the work of years, as frequently happens at Muzo.

"The tools used are steel bars about 5 feet long and weighing 30 lb. and shovels. The bars are forged to a point at one end and made wedge-shaped at the other. As the bank deepens and approaches the calcite veins, great care is exercised to prevent undue force being used, owing to the risk of breaking the emeralds which may be in the immediate vicinity. In this careful work the Indians excel, and they can strike repeatedly the same spot in the formation with the pointed end of the bar without deviating one hair's breadth, using just sufficient force to break the limestone without smashing the calcite or the gems it may contain. An unskilled miner, native or white, could do immense damage when using the bar in the neighbourhood of an emerald-bearing vein.

"A bank is never left, day or night, so long as it is productive. Relays of miners are drafted to it to take the place of those who retire to meals, which are served only in the dining-rooms and never at the banks. Other relays of miners are drafted as necessity demands. When a bank becomes more than ordinarily productive, as when a rich pocket is discovered, the number of overseers is augmented and extra vigilance is exercised to prevent theft or carelessness in handling the matrix, and to see that no formation likely to carry gems is thrown over the dump. In this way work continues till dusk, when the banks are put in charge of military police or soldiers, of whom a large force is always stationed on the mines and in the city of Muzo.

"There is no evidence whatever that the deposits are likely to become exhausted for the next few hundred years."

The coal deposits that are found in many parts of the Andes have been worked but little and only for purely local consumption. In the Eastern Cordillera they are met with here and there—on the edge of the *llanos* at Villavicencio, in the Guaduas Valley, on the slope of the Cerro de la Suma Paz, in the Carare region, at Pacho, La Pradera, Samacá, etc., and especially on the edge of the Sabaná of Bogotá. Immediately back of Bogotá, coal is mined, but the most important works are those of Nemocón and Zipaquira. At the latter place there are five seams a yard thick. None of the various discoveries in the Eastern Cordillera give promise, however, of any industrial development of great importance. In the Central range, coal is mined in small quantities for use in neighbouring smelteries, iron-foundries, etc. The various outcroppings seem to form part of one general streak, running from Andes above the Cauca Valley towards Fredonia and Amagá on one side and towards Sabaletas, Titiribi, and Eliconia on the other. Further north numerous coal deposits have been found at Caceres, and between Caceres and Zaragoza, but no development work has been undertaken.

For future export and industrial possibilities we should look rather to the beds of the Western Cordillera and those near the Atlantic coast : these deposits, if found upon thorough exploration equal to anticipations, will become a source of great wealth. The beds near Cali, on the line of the Cauca Railway, are believed to be very extensive and to run entirely through the Cordillera to the Pacific slope. Their proximity to the Pacific Ocean and to the Canal would make them an important factor, although their commercial value might be diminished to a certain extent if the United States Government, as has been reported to be its intention, sell West Virginia coal, superior for steamers, at Panama at practically cost.

Near the Atlantic two coal areas are known ; one to the east, where a wide vein of cannel coal with surface outcroppings was discovered in 1865 by John May, an English engineer, on the south-eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, near the town of Serrejon, and reported to extend with other parallel veins north-easterly into the Goajira peninsula ; the other, near the Gulf of Urabá, contains a deposit of anthracite, extending some 50 miles north and south, of a thickness of five metres, and also lignite nearby at a place called Arboletes. Farther inland, in the Sierra de Abibe, the mountainous region between the rivers León and Sinú, not only have various coal outcroppings been reported by prospectors, but also plentiful indications of other mineral deposits, iron, copper, lead, petroleum, gold, and silver. "Here, too, are lands that have no superior in the way of fertility anywhere in the world. These lands are accessible to good harbourage. Here is a land practically uninhabited that has ideal surroundings and only awaits the man of brain and energy to convert it into a profitable domain." [1]

Iron is found in the neighbourhood of many of the coal mines we have mentioned, but has been worked at only a few for use in local foundries—at Pacho, now abandoned, at La Pradera, where there was an extensive investment a score of years ago, but little progress made, and at two or three places in Antioquia, where, on a small scale, rails, mills, and parts for mining machinery are being turned out. Copper, tin, quicksilver, lead, and many other minerals and precious stones have been discovered at a great many points, usually inaccessible, throughout Colombia, but few attempts have been made to work any of them on account of transportation costs. Valuable asphalt deposits have been worked on a small scale in the upper Magdalena

[1] *Mining Journal*, July 27, 1912.

Valley, but freights are well-nigh prohibitive. Petroleum is found between Cartagena and Barranquilla, and elsewhere, but only one concern, a Canadian company, has drilled wells.

It is in the domain of the precious metals that Colombia holds a proud place ; her gold, silver, and platinum resources are of commanding interest.

It was in Colombia, in the placers of the Chocó, that platinum was discovered by the Spanish scientist, Antonio de Ulloa, in 1737. The recent high price of the metal and the rapid depletion of the Russian deposits have turned attention very seriously to Colombia as the chief source of supply of the future. For a number of years it has ranked second in the world, but its percentage of the total was very small. There are two districts in Colombia where this rare but indispensable metal is washed. In one, the Barbacoas district, extending from the frontier of Ecuador to the Micay River, gold (platinum is never found alone) is the metal of paramount importance, and the platinum is a negligible by-product. In the other region, the Chocó, it often outvalues the gold ; here it is found in the rivers of the San Juan and Atrato watersheds ; the main placers are those of the Rivers Condoto and Platina, and it is also obtained from the Iro, Tamana, Bebara, Negua, Andagueda, Certegui, and Agua Clara, etc. The production heretofore has been desultory, practically all the metal being obtained by the lazy negro labourers, who mine for their own account, washing by hand in *bateas,* working only when forced to do so by lack of food, and quitting as soon as they have accumulated a little of the metal, which they trade for necessaries. But foreign capital is now going in. The most notable undertaking is that of the Anglo-Colombian Development Company, formed by the Consolidated Goldfields interests, which has

already spent and is continuing to invest a very large amount of money in exploration work and the purchase of properties preparatory to development on an extensive scale, not only for gold and platinum in this section, but in other sections within reach of the Pacific coast. If this company succeeds, as with the resources at its command it unquestionably will, in meeting the labour problem, the platinum production of Colombia can be expected to increase enormously. In 1906 the exportation was 6,813 ounces, of a declared value of $122,119; in 1907 the production was about 5,000 ounces of crude metal (the Russian production is estimated at 300,000 ounces), in 1908 it was somewhat less, due to lower prices and the attempt of the Government to monopolize the industry. In 1910, approximately, 13,000 ounces of crude platinum were recovered (valued at $260,632), the major portion of which was shipped to Europe: the exports to the United States amounted to 3,270 ounces (valued at $76,030), considerably larger than in 1909. 1911 saw a still more notable increase: the exports were reported as valued at $345,896.

Platinum is interesting because of its rare occurrence in the world, but it is gold and silver that give Colombia its importance as a mineral land. The average reader will probably be surprised at learning the enormous quantity of these metals that Colombia has produced in the course of its history. In fact, prior to the discovery of the goldfields of California and Australia, it was Colombia that had furnished the chief single source of gold supply to Europe. The most exhaustive student of the subject, Dr. Vicente Restrepo,[1] estimates the total pro-

[1] *Estudio sobre las minas de oro y plata de Colombia* (2nd ed., Bogotá, 1888), Eng. trans. of 1st ed., by C. W. Fisher, *Gold and Silver Mines of Colombia* (N.Y., 1886), Fr. trans. by Henry Jalhay (Brussels, 1891).

LA CASCADA QUARTZ MINE, MANIZALES.

NATIVE PLACER MINERS, SAN NICOLAS.

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duction of gold from the Conquest (1537) to 1882 at 876,774 kilograms, worth $582,704,000, and of silver during the same time as $47,000,000. These figures are far more conservative than those given by Dr. Adolf Soetbeer, who estimated the production from 1537 to 1875, of gold at 1,231,000 kilos, worth $818,454,900, and of silver at 6 to 10 per cent. of the gold, or from $49,227,000 to $82,000,000. From 1876 to 1892, both inclusive, the figures are given [1] as: gold, 79,437 kilos, value $52,792,973; silver, from 1880 to 1891, about 234,000 kilos, value, 1880 to 1892, both inclusive, $11,676,000.

Year.	Gold.			Silver.		
	Kilog.	Oz. Fine.	Value.	Kilog.	Oz. Fine.	Value.
			Dollars.			Dollars.
1893	4,353	—	2,892,800	52,511	1,688,230	1,320,126
1894	4,339	139,516	2,892,800	52,511	1,688,230	1,063,610
1895	4,890	154,000	3,183,000	53,500	1,720,025	1,122,965
1896	5,416	174,165	3,600,000	51,200	1,646,080	1,104,384
1897	5,868	188,679	3,900,000	51,200	1,646,080	985,191
1898	5,567	179,003	3,700,000	51,200	1,646,080	971,187
1899	3,462	111,272	2,300,000	109,531	3,521,563	2,098,147
1900[3]	3,462	111,272	2,300,000	87,089	2,800,000	1,719,480
1901	3,114	100,145	2,070,000	78,380	2,520,000	1,485,540
1902	3,561·3	120,831	2,500,000	—	—	—
1903	4,098·9	131,785	2,724,000	—	—	—
1904	2,970·8	95,520	1,974,000	—	—	—
1905[3]	2,970·8	95,520	1,974,000	31,103·5	1,000,000	603,500
1906	3,296	105,966	2,190,522	30,482	980,000	654,552
1907	4,898	157,471	3,255,311	—	—	—
1908	4,530	145,649	3,010,565	—	—	—
1909	4,660	150,000	3,100,500	—	—	176,127[2]
1910	—	279,342[2]	3,369,941[2]	—	—	407,690[2]
1911	10,574[2]	—	3,751,632[2]	—	—	210,233[2]

[1] *The Republic of Colombia*, issued by the Consulate, N.Y., 1896. For still other figures, from official publications, see Regel, Jalhay, but who in their summations appear to have overlooked the fact that some of the official figures represent the values in Colombian money and not in U.S. gold, elsewhere taken as the standard.

[2] Export statistics, crude metal.

[3] Estimated same as in preceding year.—*The Mineral Industry.*

Since 1892 I have found the foregoing statistics,[1] upon which, however, absolute reliance cannot be placed ; to the critical student they seem decidedly too low, due probably to the very large quantity of gold-dust privately shipped, of which no official record can be taken.

In general it may be said that the principal mining districts of Colombia are still those that were discovered and worked by the Spaniards, in the historical political divisions of Antioquia, Cauca, Santander, and Tolima. A mention of the countless places where mines are worked or known would read almost like a gazetteer of those sections of Colombia : we can only mention a few of the more important regions, especially those that have most interested foreign capital.

Antioquia has always been the chief mining section, and still maintains its lead both for quartz deposits and placers. Many of its mines have been continuously worked from the Spanish and even the Indian days without diminution. A French engineer says [2] : " The *massif* of Antioquia alone is perhaps the richest auriferous deposit in the world, and only awaits hands and capital to show its immense value. . . . One can say of this region, extremely mountainous and full of ravines, cut in all directions by fractures or lodes, which are nearly all goldbearing, that it constitutes an immense *massif* of gold. Barely the thousandth part of the deposits has been worked. There is gold everywhere, in variable proportions, it is true, but nearly always in workable and paying quantity."

Of the alluvial mines, the most actively worked

[1] See p. 167.

[2] Demangeon : *L'Industrie Aurifère en Colombie* (Paris, 1906, 1907) ; the title is somewhat misleading, as the book is confined to Antioquia ; it makes a very thorough study of the gold industry of that region. See also Granger and Treville : *Mining Districts of Colombia* (Tr. Am. Inst. Mining Eng., vol. 28 (1898)).

to-day are those of the Cauca, Porce, and Nechi Rivers and the numerous mountain streams, *quebradas*, that flow into them. The Porce flows into the Nechi near Zaragoza, the chief town of the region, whence there is steam navigation via the Nechi, the Cauca, and the Magdalena to Barranquilla. The vast amount that has been washed from the auriferous sands of this region has not in the least impaired the present yield : the production by the natives, who prefer to work on their own account, even if only on a small scale, is very large ; and a number of foreigners, especially Americans and French, are successfully working with hydraulic monitors on a large scale, and undertaking extensive ditching and tunnelling. The most interesting developments now going on are for the dredging operations of the Pato Mines (Colombia), Ltd., a subsidiary of the Oroville Dredging Company, which has had such remarkable success in California. The company has already expended (exclusive of the purchase price of its properties, which were paid for in shares) considerably over half a million dollars, and will require for its permanent dam (to be a concrete structure 65 feet high, and requiring 15,000 cubic yards of masonry—it will be the finest in Colombia) an additional $174,000, besides other large expenditures. The company's bench gravel deposits in the Pato basin have been thoroughly proved by boring, special attention is being paid to sanitation, and with the company's experience elsewhere and its resources, this enterprise will undoubtedly prove a success and redeem the rather unfortunate past history of dredging in Colombia. Development on a large scale, preparatory to dredging operations, is also being undertaken in the vicinity of Caceres by another American corporation, the Breitung Mines Corporation.

Vein mines were opened in Antioquia as early

as 1581, and worked all during the Spanish domination, but with comparatively meagre results, due to the crude methods employed. In 1825 some rich veins near Anori were worked, and soon after an Englishman, Mr. James, erected the first mills in the country to crush the Anori ore ; and his example was soon followed, especially at Amalfi, Remedios, the Bolivia, Zancudo, and Frontino mines. In 1851 Mr. Tyrrell Moore, another Englishman, established a smelting plant at Titiribi for the auriferous ores of that rich region, including the Zancudo Mine, whose owners, however, erected their own smeltery under a German miner, Reinhold Paschke, and Moore's works, after an expenditure of £120,000, failed. Several other disastrous failures, especially of English companies (the British have gone in more for quartz mines, the Americans showing a preference for placers), have marred Colombian mining history, but, where not due to the introduction of machinery at a greater expense than the circumstances warranted, have been of a character to impeach the quality, not of the ore, but of the management, and are more than redeemed by the long and successful history, not only of native enterprises, but of other foreign mining companies. One of the most notable of the latter is the *Frontino and Bolivia Mining Company, Ltd.*, which in 1852 bought the Frontino Mine and several others in the neighbourhood of Remedios (the most important of all the mining sections of Colombia). After weathering early managerial misfortunes, it has had a successful career, and has been almost constantly one of the best managed and most profitable mines in Colombia : of late years working costs have been very high, expenditure and revenue almost balancing ; but it is now making extensive additions in equipment, power-plant, and new development, which will insure,

according to its engineers, a net working profit of £3,000 a month. They report that its two principal mines, the *Salada* and the *Silencio,* are still only in their infancy, and another property, the Marmajito-Cogote, of great promise. Another important mine in the same district, thought by some to be on the same lode, is the *San Nicolas,* worked by a French company ; this mine was the first to introduce the cyanide process in Colombia.

Scarcely inferior to the production of the Remedios district is that of Titiribi. Here is the great gold and silver mine of Zancudo, which we have already mentioned, and its annexes, owned [1] and very ably managed by native Colombians ; originally worked for gold, later the silver output became far the more important, having reached in some years three quarters of a million dollars. It has the singular advantage, too, of being situated at the foot of an extensive coal deposit, and is also within convenient access of Medellin, the commercial centre and political capital of the department of Antioquia, a thriving and progressive city, the second in the Republic. An assay office was erected in Medellin in 1858, and two others in the early eighties. The mint for the coinage of gold and silver, closed for a number of years, has just been reopened. There is also a very creditable School of Mines, where competent engineers are trained ; the Antioquieños are born miners. The lower classes furnish an excellent quality of labour,[2] which gives this generally healthful region a still further advantage for mining purposes over other parts of Colombia ; among the

[1] A majority of the shares or rights is held by the Compagnie Unifiée du Zancudo (capital 4,000,000 francs), the shares of which in turn are principally owned by Colombians.

[2] Labour, however, is scarce, as the men prefer to mine for their own account, and even high wages often fail to tempt them into the employ of the large companies.

middle and upper classes, able engineers and mine managers are to be found. Some of the best managed and most profitable mines in the country, besides the Zancudo, *e.g.*, La Constancia and the Solferino at Anori, La Cascada at Manizales, are operated and engineered entirely by Colombians, and many Antioquieños have become wealthy in the mining industry.

Another rich mining section is that of Marmato and Supia. The mines of that name belong to the Government, being leased out. In 1825 the London firm of Goldschmidt & Co. leased the mines, and did much to improve the methods of mining. They are now under lease to the Colombian Mining and Exploration Company, of London, which pays the Government an annual rental of £3,200. Electric power is being installed, and a recent report says : "The energetic development at greater depths of one of the numerous groups of mines leased to this company has given such excellent results and so fully confirmed anticipation that a 6,000-ton plant has been decided on, and shipment already commenced." Near here are the Echandia mines, which made a celebrated fortune a few years ago for a Colombian named Chaves, and the Pantano mine, which has been successfully operated by the *Western Andes Mining Company*. All these mines are situated in the Western Cordillera, not far from the Cauca River ; throughout the whole extent of the mountains surrounding the upper Cauca Valley some placers and quartz mines are worked, though hitherto on an insignificant scale. Recent purchases by French and Belgian syndicates, however, which in addition have procured various options, promise a more active development. Further south, around Pasto and towards the Ecuadorian frontier, a new rich region has been opened up in the last few years ; several hundred mines have been denounced, especi-

ally in the districts of Samaniego and Mallama, and a number of English and Americans have introduced modern machinery and are working good quartz properties.

On the eastern slopes of the Central Cordillera there are several localities of interest. The Mariquita region, which had fame in the Spanish days, is again active : in this range, too, are Santa Ana and La Manta, Government mines acquired by inheritance from the Spanish Crown, more interesting historically than of present day importance. It was here that in 1785 a mining engineer of great note in his day, d'Elhuyar, was imported by the Viceroy to introduce the Freiberg process. During the eleven years he was in charge the expenses were $232,641, against a gross product of $27,247 ! Forty years later, the English firm of Herring, Graham, & Powles met with a similar experience, erecting smelting-works at great expense, and in thirteen years spending over £200,000 and taking out silver valued at £28,000. Subsequent working by them, however, was more profitable. The mines are now under lease to the Anglo-Colombian Investment Company, of London. The gold veins in the Tolima district, with few exceptions, are rich superficially, but pinch out at a depth of ten to twenty fathoms, alluvial gold washings being more abundant and giving better results. In this region the most important mines are those of the *North Tolima Mining Company*, of London, at Frias. Since their rediscovery in 1870 they have been continuously and profitably worked : in 1895 the annual output of silver was little less than $800,000. The company was reorganized in 1910 with a capital of £100,000, and has been shipping some 1,600 sacks (65 kilos each) of silver a year, by muleback to the Dorada Railroad.

The Eastern Cordillera is of far less importance than the other two, though gold has been discovered

at a number of points. Here, too, was the greatest "bonanza" ever found in Colombia: the mine of *Pie de Gallo* yielded in a few hours 64 kilograms of gold, but that was in Spanish days. At present, the only important foreign companies are near Bucaramanga, the *Francia Gold Mining Company*, a French concern, especially having been particularly active in 1911 in acquiring title to additional mining claims.

The rivers of the Pacific littoral are nearly all auriferous, several of them being strikingly rich. In the earlier days, the Barbacoas region was especially productive,[1] but the abolition of slavery in 1851 crippled the placers. Again, in the sixties, there was quite a boom and an influx of California miners, but the climate proved a deterrent. Lately there has been a considerable revival of interest all along the coast; a French company has been established on the Timbiqui for a number of years, obtaining a steady, though not a very large yield. An Australian company has also been at work, but its first attempts at dredging were unsuccessful. Nothing on a large scale has yet been done: such production as there is from this region is obtained chiefly by native labourers, who still continue the primitive methods of washing the sands in *bateas*, the Colombian substitute for the pan.

We already had occasion in speaking of platinum to refer to the rich placers of the Chocó region, the Atrato and San Juan Rivers and their tributaries. This also was a goldfield but little inferior to Antioquia in the days when slaves could be employed—the annual output at the beginning of the nineteenth century was about a million dollars—but until recently

[1] A very interesting and thorough account of the way these mines used to be worked by the negro slaves is given in Stevenson: *Twenty Years' Residence in South America*, vol. ii., p. 423 (London, 1825).

DRILLERS' CAMP ON THE TARAZÁ PLACER, ANTIOQUIA.

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the difficulties of access, the bad climate, and reputation for fevers, not wholly undeserved, and the decided inferiority of the labour, almost entirely negro, to that of Antioquia, have been deterrents. With increased knowledge and modern practices of sanitation and scientific methods of overcoming obstacles, the Chocó will again become one of the great gold regions of the world. Robert Blake White, the English engineer, who has contributed so much to our knowledge of Colombia, said, speaking of the Chocó : "I do not know any rivers in any country outside of Colombia where such favourable conditions for the extraction of gold exist," and his opinion has been confirmed by subsequent explorers. A well-known American mining engineer, Henry G. Granger, who has discovered and located more claims than any other man in this section and perhaps in the whole of Colombia, attempted dredging a few years ago, but failed : nothing daunted, he is again at it, with new financial backing from well-known mining capitalists of New York. And a great stimulus to this section will undoubtedly be given by the Anglo-Colombian Development Company, of which mention has already been made. This company, in addition to its own exploration work, is rendering a much-needed public service in establishing steamship communication on the San Juan River from Buenaventura.

A useful note of warning is sounded by Consul Isaac A. Manning in *Daily Consular Reports*, October 31, 1912 :—

"This is not a poor man's mining country. A prospector without capital or backing stands little show in Colombia, largely because of the lack of transportation facilities, the rugged character of the country, the rigors of the climate, and the difficulties of securing supplies and food except at high prices. Principally, however, this is true because no quantity of 'panning' or 'rocker' ground is to be found from which the prospector can recoup his expense money.

"Scientific prospecting only will pay in Colombia. Very few paying ledges have been discovered, and they are frequently much disturbed or contain 'horses' of barren rock. That there are numerous deposits yet awaiting discovery cannot be doubted; but as a general thing these will be found, if placer, to carry such an 'overload' of surface material as to require machinery for satisfactory prospecting or development; if quartz, to be of low grade and, in the main, to carry refractory ores. . . . Most of the gold veins in Colombia are of a very refractory nature and can be worked to advantage only with the most modern and improved machinery and systems."

The mining laws[1] are very liberal, and every facility is given to the prospector to explore and denounce mines, not only in public lands, but in privately owned property. There is liberality, too, in the grant of easements necessary for the proper working of mines, which are treated on the same basis as public utilities and the right of expropriation or condemnation given for their benefit. There is, however, considerable red tape, and sometimes there is apt to be much delay before final title is adjudicated by the Government, but the danger of "jumping" claims is reduced to a minimum. The expenses for locating claims, obtaining possession, and acquiring title are comparatively small, and the annual taxes are very low: and if the equivalent of forty years' taxes is paid in at once, an indefeasible title in fee is acquired, exempt in perpetuity from future taxes. Another feature of the law, while attractive from some standpoints, especially that of a large company investing heavily for plant and machinery and naturally desiring reserve ores in the neighbourhood, has done much to hinder the mining development of the country, and that is, that so long as the taxes are paid no annual work whatsoever need be done in order to preserve the locator's rights.

[1] See *The Mining Laws of Colombia*, translated with an Introduction and Notes by Phanor J. Eder, of the New York Bar (Washington, D.C., 1912).

The consequence is, there are a great number of mines which have been denounced and acquired—fully half of them—whose owners, for lack of capital or of initiative, do nothing but wait for some one to come along and buy them out. And because of exaggerated ideas as to the wealth of the properties which they themselves have never scientifically explored, they often ask inflated and prohibitive prices. Consequently a large area of known good mining land lies unproductive because the owners will neither themselves exploit it nor permit others to do so on reasonable terms. The policy of the law for many years fluctuated greatly on this point, but the present system was finally adopted in 1896. There are, of course, two sides to the question: a reconciliation might perhaps be effected by amending the law as to future denouncements, so as to require working except in cases where adjoining or nearby claims are held under the same ownership as mines in active operation. The law in regard to the use of waters might also be advantageously amended, so as to do away with the preference now given to the first discoverer of a mine in a neighbourhood, whether he works his mine or not, and likewise the procedure for assessing damages is susceptible of improvement, the present system giving plentiful opportunity for petty but annoying extortion.

A valuable privilege appurtenant to mining claims is the preferential right to an adjudication of a large tract of public lands in the vicinity of the *pertenencia*, as the mining unit of soil granted is called. As, with rare exceptions, the public lands in the mining regions are forest covered, this insures a supply of the necessary timber. The nation can well afford to be generous with its public lands and forests. Even apart from the great *llanos* and *selvas* of the Amazon and Orinoco watersheds, about one-third of the area of the country is still in the public domain.

The natural wealth of the forest areas is enormous, but alas ! it is for the most part inaccessible. A favourite form of subsidy in railroad and other concessions has been a grant of public lands. Exclusive rights to exploitation of the forests for a term of years have also been frequently given, sometimes for a particular product, *e.g.*, the *algarroba* bean, a concession for which covering the whole Republic was given a great number of years ago and is still in force, sometimes for all forest products within defined but generously large areas.

Such concessions in the past have proved cheats : they have done practically nothing to develop the country. The forests are often an illusory source of wealth at the present time : the natural difficulties of exploitation, added to the already thrice-cursed obstacles of transportation and labour supply, are usually too great. Very little timber-cutting has been done : there are few sawmills in the country ; in the forests accessible to river and coast, two trees of the same species are rarely found near each other ; for the domestic needs of construction, boxing, and fuel, the trees are felled oftener with a machete than with an axe, and are sawed even lengthwise by hand, at which feat some of the native woodsmen are remarkably expert. It is only the more valuable cabinet and dyewoods, and occasionally railroad ties, that the natives take the trouble to market for export. The Colombian mahogany [1] is especially in demand abroad : it comes chiefly from the region of the Sinu, the forests of which yield other valuable export products—rubber and balata, medicinal plants like ipecac, sarsaparilla, balsams, and resins : from near by comes the once famous balsam of Tolu. From the

[1] *Cariniana pyriformis*, not the true mahogany, but one of the best imitations now marketed. See U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Forest Service, Circular 185 (Washington, 1911). The true mahogany is occasionally, but very rarely, found in Colombia.

NATIVE WOODSMEN AT WORK.

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Magdalena forests, too, useful products are brought out. The hunt for orchids is assiduously pursued, and in spite of the devastation of the most favourable regions,[1] the trade is still not insignificant. But the most important present-day exports of forest products are of rubber and ivory-nuts ; one of the chief regions for the former is the Amazon watershed ; the Putumayo River, the scene of the Peruvian atrocities that recently so stirred the civilized world, is claimed by Colombia, but its production scarcely figures in the export statistics of rubber from Colombia. Ivory-nuts come chiefly from the forests near the Pacific coast accessible to the ports of Buenaventura and Tumaco, from the Atrato and other sections, whence shipments are made viâ Cartagena ; at some places in the mountains of the Chocó a riotous abundance of *tagua* is reported, as yet totally unexploited ; and from the banks of the Magdalena and its tributaries, especially the Sogamoso, where the best quality is found. The *tagua*, or vegetable ivory, is the kernel of a nut from a palm-tree, the *Phytelephas macrocarpa* of science, and can be had by the thousands for the mere trouble of locating the trees and picking the fallen nuts from the ground ; nevertheless, few attempts have been made to improve on the old methods of getting it in, which depend largely upon the lazy inclinations of the negroes, whom it is extremely difficult to tempt into any activity beyond that necessary to satisfy the most primitive needs.

Not all of the *baldios*—the Government domains —are densely wooded : far from it. There is much public land, fertile, favourably and healthily situated, and easily cleared for grazing or cultivation, that is to be had for the taking, and that would furnish a livelihood for energetic and adaptable immigrants. The laws as to *baldios* are liberal ; a colonist, by

[1] See Millican : *Adventures of an Orchid Hunter.*

cultivating and fencing, acquires title to the tract improved and to an adjacent area of equal dimensions ; and title can also be obtained by petition, surveying, and the payment of small fees. But the tide of immigration that Colombia so much needs has flowed to the other countries, because of greater stability of government, better educational and social advantages, and superior pecuniary inducements offered by the Governments, whereas Colombia is still half-hearted in her desire to attract foreign immigrants. Citizens there are who do not hesitate to publicly and emphatically declare that Colombians are better off without foreign settlers, even of their own religion. This is a spirit of petty jealousy and provincialism which loses sight of the fact that there is ample room in their country for five or ten times the present population ; that far from her independence being jeopardized, it would be strengthened and assured by such an increase ; that in the other Spanish American countries none have profited so much by the influx of foreigners as the natives themselves, whose political ascendancy has been no wise diminished, who cannot be and are not displaced, but on the contrary whose lands are increased in value, whose labour is better remunerated, whose opportunities for gain and advancement are enhanced much more than are the foreigners'. So the Colombian nation could well afford to be generous, not merely in throwing open the public lands, but in offering every possible inducement, even at a present pecuniary sacrifice, to the immigrant.

CHAPTER XII

THE COAST REGIONS

The Goajira, Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, Departments of Magdalena, Bolivar and Atlantico, the Chocó, the Pacific.

IT is curious that the first land in Colombia visited by the white man is still inhabited almost entirely by unsubjected Indians, descendants probably of those Caribs who made such sturdy resistance to the early onslaughts of the Spaniards. To this day, the Goajiros, a hardy, warlike race, have maintained in large measure their independence ; although carrying on commercial intercourse with the whites and nominally submissive to the authority of the Colombia Government, they have hitherto resisted all attempts at subjection or civilization.

They inhabit the Goajira Peninsula, a low plain extending from the Gulf of Maracaibo in Venezuela westward until the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta is reached—an arid, sandy, and unproductive stretch, except in the southern part. Its only river of any note is the one that may be called its boundary, the Rio Hacha (also called Rancheria), at the mouth of which is the small port of the same name. Here is handled such little trade as there is,[1] the Indians coming into the town to barter their horses and cattle, hides, pearls, brazil wood and dividivi, for bright-coloured cloths, corn, hardware and, of course, fire-arms and the still more destructive rum. Singularly

[1] Exports (1911), $234,460 ; imports, $83,969.

among the South American Indians, the Goajiros are expert riders, so of horses they breed a good stock, sturdy if not sleek.

The harbour is poor, the water being shallow for a long distance from shore, so that all trade is handled by lighters. Steamers rarely call here, traffic being by sailing vessels with Santa Marta or Curaçoa.

Hides, goatskins, and the dividivi used for tanning and found wild in the forests of the southern part, constitute the chief articles of export from Riohacha, much of the trade of the Goajiro Indians, however, being diverted by Venezuelans from the Gulf of Maracaibo. These Indians are divided into a number of tribes, each living apart from the others, leading a rather nomad existence and organized somewhat like the old Scottish clans. The tribes are almost constantly in feud one with another, the duty of vengeance, like the vendetta, being passed on from generation to generation, and woe to the white man who gets in the way. Physically they are of average height, well proportioned, even handsome. Those near the coast live on fish, those in the interior chiefly on meat. They sleep in hammocks of their own weaving and their huts are built up on poles and roofed with the stems and leaves of reeds. The inhabitants of the lake-front dwell in similar huts, with the peculiarity, which struck the original discoverers so forcibly, that the piles are driven into the bottom of the lake and the huts appear above the water.

In the central and southern portions of the peninsula there is a zone of greater fertility, and even the northern sandy stretch could be irrigated and made productive. The mineral wealth of the peninsula, salt, lignite, anthracite, large deposits of phosphates, is unexploited, although road building would be easy. The Goajiros—their number is variously estimated at from 30,000 to 60,000—could undoubtedly be "civilized" and converted into useful labourers for

the benefit of their civilizers, if the well-meant efforts of the Catholic missionaries received greater encouragement and support. The missionaries have devised the only practicable means of educating them, namely, receiving the young children as *internes* in special schools, which are called *orfelinatos*, where, "orphaned" from their parents, they receive far kinder treatment than ever they would get at home.

Politically, the Goajira Peninsula belongs to the Department of Magdalena, the capital of which is Santa Marta, the oldest city in Colombia. Its well-sheltered harbour made it at one time a commercial rival of Cartagena, but it had sunk into a decadence which became intensified when the completion of the Barranquilla Railway took away the last vestiges of its trade with the interior departments, to revive with the rapid growth in the last few years of the banana industry under the stimulus of the United Fruit Company. In 1911, 154 steamers and 115 sailing-vessels touched at Santa Marta. The banana plantations are situated on the low-lying plains made humid by the Magdalena and by streams from the mountains situated between the sea and the foot of the Sierra Nevada, especially along the 40-mile stretch of railroad from Cienaga to the terminus of the line. The production has grown by leaps and bounds, as the following table of exports in the last ten years shows :—

Year.	No. of Bunches.
1902	314,006
1903	475,448
1904	787,244
1905	863,750
1906	1,295,228
1907	1,783,907
1908	2,028,850
1909	3,222,152
1910	3,844,519
1911	4,901,894
1912 (first six months)	2,295,185

The value at Santa Marta of the banana exports for 1911 is officially given as $2,112,855 and for the first six months of 1912 at $1,010,217 ; other exports (1911) $190,368 ; imports $378,751.

The banana possibilities of the region are far from exhausted. The area under cultivation is some 22,000 acres, consisting, according to the tax roll for 1911, of 332 plantations, on which some 5,000 labourers, nearly all negroes, find employment, valued at $2,553,200 ; [1] while there is still some 100,000 acres not developed, most of it Government land, which is adapted for banana raising and to which the railroad could be readily and in all likelihood will soon be extended. In point of health it compares rather favourably with banana regions in other countries. The prevalent malaria could, with proper sanitation, be kept in check : as a first step, the United Fruit Company is now planning a modern hospital in Santa Marta. Against this all-powerful company there has been much complaint, as there naturally would be against any monopoly ; [2] but some of the complaints have undoubtedly been justified. Some planters, especially the absentee landlords of Barranquilla, have even complained that they are not making any money, but there is little

[1] This valuation was made on a basis of $140 per hectare, whereas in the opinion of the Governor of the Department the average value is $400, which would give a total valuation of nearly $8,000,000.

[2] The Atlantic Fruit Company, another American Corporation, assisted in a measure by the Hamburg American Line, attempted recently to break this monopoly, by enticing the planters to violate their contracts with the United and purchasing or leasing a number of plantations, but through financial difficulties was unable to complete the payments. The United Fruit Company, which had unsuccessfully endeavoured first in the Colombian, then in the New York Courts to obtain a temporary injunction against the Atlantic Fruit Company, then purchased several of these plantations. The fight is still on, the Atlantic, now reorganized, continuing to ship considerable quantities of bananas, and the planters getting the benefit of increased prices.

doubt that the industry has been extremely profitable, not only for the United Fruit Company and the railroad, but also for the planters. The total cost of clearing the land and raising the first crop is estimated at about $45 an acre and the annual yield at $40 an acre.

The Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta, the huge mountain mass, with a base of over 5,000 square miles in area, which dominates the banana region, presents a very great variety of climate and soil, ranging from the tropical zone at its base to the intense cold of its perpetually snow-clad summits, the highest of which is 19,000 feet. It is because of its great extent of lands climatically temperate and healthy, its large area capable of producing northern crops, while the valleys and plains at the foot of the hills can yield tropical and sub-tropical products, and of its nearness to the sea, that this favoured region seems destined to receive a large influx of foreign immigration ; but at present the only crop that is receiving much attention on the mountain is coffee, many new plantations of which are being started.

According to the tax roll of the Department of Magdalena there were in 1911 1,718 coffee estates, valued at $302,158, most of which are situated on the Sierra ; 99 cacao plantations, valued at $162,240 ; 505 small sugar plantations, valued at $316,508 ; and 9,442 houses, valued at $2,972,276.[1]

In the colder climes of the Sierra Nevada live the Ahruaco Indians, a docile race, in marked contrast to their near neighbours, the Goajiros. The Goajiro wears little clothing ; the Ahruaco, as a protection against the cold, wears heavy cotton clothing, consisting of trousers and a long, heavy, characteristic mantle. Their huts are round and very low, and with

[1] All these valuations also are too low in the opinion of the Governor.

but a small entrance, closed with a door. These Indians are nominally Christians, there being several chapels in their villages, but rarely priests to fill them. They are also "civilized," but their wants are few. Their furniture and household belongings are scanty—a cooking-pot, a pair of wooden stools and knapsacks constituting their sole furniture. Boards in the upper part of the hut serve for their sleeping quarters. "Man and wife live separate, consequently the huts usually are in pairs, one close to another; between the two there is a stone on which the wife places food for the husband. Here he eats his meal and entertains himself when his wife and children are by." They are fond of eating, but can go a long time without food, especially when they chew coca, a habit which plays an important part in their life. They live chiefly on vegetable food, of which they raise diversified crops from wheat to plantains. Meat they seldom eat, but they indulge in lizards and snails. The women do the work while the men chew coca and get drunk on the rum which the white man gives them in trade for their cattle, to which they devote little trouble, the animals being left to graze at large.

On the rear or southern slopes and at the foot of the Sierra Nevada lies the fertile valley of the River Cesar and the Valle Dupar section. The absence of good roads has prevented the development of this promising region, and, moreover, the white settlers have at times been driven away by the onslaughts of the Motilones Indians, who dwell in the forests of the Eastern Cordillera to the east. The region watered by the lower Cesar and its tributaries is undoubtedly one of the richest agriculturally in Colombia: numerous mountain streams provide power and natural irrigation: there are large stretches of natural pasture in the valley of the main river and in the *vegas* and valleys of its affluent streams—

the swampy lands, even, well adapted for rice culture, could be profitably utilized. The upper Cesar, free from the Motilones, is better settled and a variety of crops are raised. There is mineral wealth, too—coal, copper, oil—but unexploited. The present outlets are the Cesar River, navigable for small boats, and a trail to Rio Hacha and to Banco, a river port on the Magdalena at its junction with the Cesar. Government engineers have made preliminary surveys for a road between Chiriguana, on the lower Cesar, and Riohacha, the length of which would be only some 200 miles and level all the way. This road or others round or across the Sierra Nevada to Santa Marta is badly needed as a civilizing factor and developer for this, one of the most promising and diversified sections in the north of Colombia. With it, especially, the Motilones Indians, whose total number cannot be more than 3,000 or 4,000, could be civilized or at least be prevented from terrorizing, as they do now, a part of the rich Cesar region.

Launches traffic regularly through one of the mouths of the Magdalena between the Santa Marta railway and Barranquilla, whose commercial importance we have already had occasion to mention in this volume. Half the foreign commerce of Colombia passes through it. Its exports (1911) $8,244,491; imports, $9,613,555. The activities of its merchants, among whom there are many foreigners, Germans predominating, have kept this city, since thirty or forty years ago, in the van of progress in Colombia. To-day its population reaches 52,000. The lower classes are chiefly black, including quite a few West Indian negroes. For the most part, they find employment in the factories and in connection with the large shipping business of the city. The industries include ship repair yards, brick manufacture, tanneries, soap, match, candle, and shoe factories, ice and electric plant, flour-mills, and

a large cotton-spinning factory which employs some 2,000 male and female operatives. Barranquilla is rapidly improving—the most disagreeable feature, the thick dust that covered the streets, is being done away with by recent paving. The town can boast of many material comforts—telephones, tramways, hack service, electric lighting, good shops, an excellent market, a theatre, a hospital—and there is considerable social life. With its cosmopolitanism, the city would be an agreeable residence for foreigners, were it not for the discomforting heat, which is often quite trying to the newcomer. The sanitation of the city, too, could stand improvement ; the water supply is not of the best, and the sewerage system defective, but there are a few progressive doctors in the town who will, it is hoped, compel the introduction of hygienic measures. The project perennially revived of improving the Ceniza mouth of the Magdalena, so as to make Barranquilla a seaport, is once again being put forth. But as with so many other projects, in Colombia, *quien sabe?*

West of Barranquilla, situated near still another mouth of the Magdalena, the Dique or so-called canal, is Cartagena, the city of greatest historical interest in the New World—" Queen of the Indies " was her proud title in the Spanish days. What memories does not the name evoke of the visits of the fleets, vast treasure-ships, of the daring exploits of Drake and Morgan, of buccaneers and pirates, for whom the city was a rich prize, of Vernon's unsuccessful siege, and of the dreaded Holy Inquisition ! As a defence against pirates and as a protection against foreign enemies, the massive walls and fortifications which made this the strongest fortress in the New World were ordered to be built by King Philip the Second. Erected at a cost of $59,000,000, an enormous sum in those days, they still stand, an impressive monument to the majesty that was Spain

and the glory that was the Queen of the Indies. During the struggle for independence, by a brave resistance to a four months' siege by the Spaniards (1815), she endeared herself for ever to the hearts of Colombians and earned a new title, "The City Heroic."

Cartagena has preserved her old Spanish character; besides her ramparts and fortifications, many of her churches and public buildings are relics of the past; nowhere in the Caribbean cruises now so popular do tourists find any town at all approaching Cartagena in point of interest. The city is modernized somewhat, what with electric lighting and telephones, shoe, soap, candle, chocolate factories, etc. But her glory is irrevocably past—she is a worsted rival of Barranquilla for commercial supremacy, and no different commercially from a dozen other minor ports in Spanish America and the West Indies. In the last few years she is gradually rising from the musty lethargy and utter business decadence into which she had fallen. Besides securing, through the railroad, a large part of the Magdalena River traffic, she obtains the trade from the Sinu and Atrato sections, but this latter seems destined to be ultimately taken from her. The total imports in 1910 were $3,951,565 (United Kingdom, $1,620,735; United States, $1,338,895; Germany, $575,135); exports, $4,984,739 ($2,556,289 to the United States, $1,230,055 to the United Kingdom, $780,920 to Germany). In 1911 imports were $4,335,805 and exports $5,927,159.

Large parts of the Departments of Bolivar and Atlantico are vast plains gently sloping to the sea or to the Magdalena, well populated and admirably adapted for tropical agriculture and cattle pastures; on these savannahs, especially centred at Sabanalarga, Sincelejo, a progressive town of 25,000 inhabitants, and Corozal, large herds of beef-cattle graze. In

the vicinity of the town of Carmen, tobacco is grown for export as well as for domestic consumption; the climatic and soil conditions bear some resemblance to those of Cuba, but little attempt has been made to improve the plant or the methods of picking and curing the leaf. In the Department of Bolivar, the most notable industrial development is the sugar central at Sincerin, on the Dique, erected and owned [1] by native Colombians, progressive merchants of Cartagena, and representing an investment stated to be about a million dollars. The capacity of the mill and factory is twenty tons of sugar a day, which makes it the largest in the whole Republic—the next in size and importance being that of *La Manuelita*, erected a few years earlier at Palmira, in the Cauca Valley, five tons a day, owned by the *Cauca Valley Agricultural Company* of New York, which is controlled by an American family that has been identified with Colombia for over half a century. The *Sincerin* central has the advantage of being within easy and cheap access of the Atlantic, and consequently exports a large part of its output: *La Manuelita* possesses a superior climate and soil, but manufactures sugar only for domestic consumption.

The lowlying cattle plains extend to and beyond the Sinu River, the forests of whose upper course have been exploited for many years for mahogany and other woods, in connection wherewith several foreign companies have set up sawmills. The logs are transported to the river chiefly by oxen, and then embarked principally at the bay of Sispata for the United States.

The interesting little group of islands known as San Andres and Providencia (St. Andrews and Providence) were, until the present year, politically

[1] The legal title is in a New York corporation, the shares of which are owned as stated in the text.

CUTTING SUGAR-CANE.

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dependent on the Department of Bolivar. They are now governed by a direct appointee from Bogotá. Of great historical interest—a bone of contention between Spaniards and English in early West Indian days,[1] and a noted pirates' haunt, they are to-day almost forgotten. By the Colombian Government they have heretofore been completely abandoned, and it seems a mere accident of good fortune that jurisdiction has been retained over these remote possessions. The population consists of about 5,000, nearly all blacks and mulattoes. Most of them are of Jamaican descent, but some on Providence Island are generally supposed to be descended from pirates and their negro women. The curious thing about these inhabitants is that the sole language of nearly all of them is English, although they are citizens of a Spanish nation. The predominating religion is Protestant. The sole source of wealth is coco-nuts, of which some three to six million are annually exported, shipped by sailing vessels to the States either direct or viâ Colon. The imports amount to $60,000 or $70,000 a year. These islands deserve to be better known: the climate is good, and San Andres is one of the prettiest little harbours in the West Indies—the channel is deep, save for a bar at the entrance which gives only 15 feet of water, but could be easily removed. The Colombian Government cherishes vague ambitions of making San Andres a coaling station for vessels using the Panama route.

Following the coast westward from Cartagena we next come to the Gulf of Urabá or Darien—the scene of the illfated first attempts of the Spaniards to found a colony. Now, as then, the insalubrity of

[1] See the State Papers, Colonial-West Indies. So far as I am aware no historian of Colombia has ever made use of these valuable sources of information, which throw many an interesting sidelight on the history of the New Granada colony.

the climate has deterred settlers, but some important developments are to be noted. The rivers flowing into and which have formed the Gulf are the Leon and the Atrato. At the mouth of the Leon, a German Company, the *Consorcia Albingia*, is undertaking extensive dock and harbour improvements and doing a little local railroad building in connection with banana plantations. American alarmists fear that banana cultivation is but a pretext—that the improvements at *Puerto Cesar*, as the new port is called, are in reality intended as the basis for a coaling station for the German navy, in menacing proximity to the Panama Canal. The known backing of the Consorcia Albingia by the Hamburg American line, in which the Kaiser is reputed to be a large shareholder, coupled with the interest taken in the development by the German diplomatists in Colombia, lend a little colour to these fearful suppositions—probably unfounded, however—for the Hamburg American line is very naturally fostering rivals to its competitor, the United Fruit Company, and the support that German officialdom lends to commercial enterprises is universal, and the application of such support in this specific instance is readily explainable without the imputation of ulterior motives.

The Atrato River, the northern gateway to the Chocó, is navigable as far as and a little beyond Quibdo, and would be so even for ocean-going steamers were it not for the bars that close its mouth to all but boats of the lightest draught—3 or 4 feet. Once past these bars it attains at places great depth, and pours forth an enormous quantity of water, due to the incessant rains of its watershed. Its course flows in such close proximity to the Pacific Ocean that it was naturally one of the routes advocated and explored for an interoceanic canal before the Panama way was finally decided

on. Several connections with the Pacific were suggested by the Napipi, by the Truando, and by the San Juan ; a legend, hard to kill, has it that in the old days a Spanish priest actually did construct a canal for canoes, linking the oceans, between the Atrato and San Juan across the *arrastradero* over the short lowlying dividing range. The Colombians still cling to the hope that soon the Atrato canal will be built, to rival the Panama, but no practical man can consider this as any but a forlorn quixotic hope, a wild dream.

The mountain section in the Chocó district, when better known and opened to travel, seems destined to become of importance ; we have already had occasion to speak of its probable mineral wealth ; the lowlands are peculiarly well adapted to rubber cultivation, which has already been started, to cacao, to bananas, and other fruits of the *tierra caliente* ; the forests are exceptionally rich, and the rivers San Juan and Atrato, and to a lesser extent the Baudo, could furnish cheap water transportation. It cannot be denied, however, that some regions of the Chocó are about as unhealthy a locality as can be found anywhere in the tropics ; above an altitude of 3,500 or 4,000 feet, however, with due regard to sanitation, distinctly healthful climates could be had, but it would still rain incessantly !

The principal exports of the Choco besides the precious metals are vegetable ivory, rubber, medicinal plants, and woods. A census taken in 1909 gave the number of planted trees in the Chocó territory as follows : Rubber 1,197,728, cacao 663,334, coffee 38,000, plantains 13,746,897—from which it will be readily inferred that the plantain forms the staple article of food. Of the population of 80,000, only 5,000 are white : there are a few Indian tribes, but the vast majority are the descendants of the slave negroes, who have here found an

environment and an abundance of easy food supply suitable, in spite of malaria, to their rapid increase.

The chief town of the territory is Quibdo, a clean, well-built town of 5,000 inhabitants and a centre of considerable commerce. A sawmill is in active operation, and there are three or four other sawmills, some steam, some water-power, throughout the Chocó, which send a little cut lumber to Cartagena, Barranquilla, or Buenaventura. Istmina and Novita are the other chief villages of the territory.

The Pacific coast from Panama south to Buenaventura offers little of present-day interest—a few miserable little fishing or foresters' villages alone brave the almost continual rains and the ravaging heat that beset this coast. There are several bays that afford fair anchorage, but as there are no roads across the Baudó range and only one or two poor ones across the Western Cordillera, there has been no inducement to settlers ; but because of its proximity to the Panama Canal it is likely that the region, in spite of its bad climate, will be developed. Its forests will be sought for their timber, its hills and mountains for minerals, and its plains and valleys devoted perhaps to bananas, rubber, and cacao. An outlet for the trade of Antioquia could readily be furnished by a road that has been talked of from Medellin across the mountain ranges to the Pacific at Cupica : in a bee-line the distance is only about a hundred miles.

The prospects, however, are not particularly inviting for either timbering or agricultural enterprises. The one or two persons who have investigated the coast with a view to its business possibilities have returned with more malaria than enthusiasm about opportunities. As a rule, there is but a very narrow strip between the mangrove swamps along the coast and the mountains that would be suitable for agriculture or for timbering.

CHOCÓ INDIAN.

CHOCÓ NEGRO.

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Buenaventura, the first port of call for steamers south of Panama, from which it is distant 360 miles, derives its chief importance from being the outlet for the Cauca section. It possesses the advantage of an excellent harbour, the most beautiful of any on the whole Pacific coast. Lest I be deemed prejudiced, let me quote the noted geographer, Colonel Church : [1] "I have visited many of the ports of the Pacific coast (of America), and this one I find the most beautiful of them. It is easy of access from the sea, spacious, and affords ample protection and accommodation for ships of large tonnage." Thus Nature. How man? Its present population is only 3,000 ; it lacks a dock ; its storehouses are insufficient, it affords scant accommodation to travellers, who usually therefore impose on the hospitality of friends (kind Samaritans indeed are the masters of the railroad and the cable house and others), and besides is malignantly malarial. Yellow fever, the plague, and typhoid, it has managed to keep free of for a number of years. With the completion of the railroad to Cali, the importance of the port will be augmented, and improvements will have to be made. But it is unfortunate for Colombia that to-day she puts not her best but her worst foot forward—the casual traveller on her coasts forms a shabby opinion of the country from her ports and gets not even an inkling of the charm and worth of the interior provinces.

The trade of Buenaventura is considerable : its exports in 1910 amounted to $1,153,523, and imports $1,278,381, and in 1911, $1,780,742 and $1,853,537 respectively. The greater portion comes from or goes to the Cauca Valley, but there is some traffic, as we have seen, with the Chocó viâ the San Juan River, and some, but less, with the nearby coasts, which produce ivory-nuts, rubber, and gold-dust.

[1] *Geog. Jour.*, vol. 17 (April, 1901), p. 350.

About a hundred miles south is the little village of Guapi, which has lately been made a port of entry ; but little trade can be expected from it, unless the American company which has recently started a sawmill on a modest scale greatly develops its business or other new enterprises spring up. A road across the Cordillera from Popayan to Micay, a bit north of Guapi, has been recently opened up, but it also is little used so far. But mining may probably develop extensively, as the coast rivers are nearly all auriferous and some are already worked.

Tumaco (population 4,416) situated on a small island 200 miles south of Buenaventura, is the only other Colombian port of call for steamers on the Pacific : the same Pacific Steam Navigation Company boats that visit Buenaventura touch here, affording a poor, expensive, and not too regular a service. It is not such a good harbour as Buenaventura, as there are some nasty sands and shallows that should be dredged, and, moreover, the island whereon it is situated is being gradually encroached upon by the sea, and is in some danger of being swallowed up unless defensive measures, talked of but not initiated, are taken : on the other hand, it has a far less disagreeable and dangerous climate than its northern rival. Five small steamers and some launches are in service, viâ the Patia and the Telembi, to Barbacaos, a river-port formerly noted for its mines but now in decadence, whence mule-roads lead into the interior. The principal exports for 1911 were " Panama " hats (manufactured in the interior), $521,158 ; gold, $381,892 ; *tagua* (vegetable ivory), $358,886 ; rubber, $230,467 ; and cacao, $86,644. Total exports, $1,573,340 ; imports, $1,052,494.

The Patia River, which we have just mentioned, is remarkable in several respects : in the first place, it is the only river in South America that has

broken its way through the Andes chain to flow into the Pacific: it has its source in the giant mountain mass in the southern portion of Colombia, where the three great divisions of the Andes are united, and flows first in the hollow between the Central Cordillera and the Western Cordillera. Through the latter it has cleaved a remarkable passage, where in a rapidly rushing torrent sometimes not more than 20 feet wide, in the course of a few miles, it drops over a thousand feet, with the mountains towering thousands of feet above it on each side. Upon emerging it receives tribute from many streams and becomes a broad, winding river, navigable for small steamers, though with some difficulty during the dry season. It is in the basin of the upper Patia that the hosts of locusts which are a plague to agriculture in many sections of Colombia are supposed to originate. The section is exceedingly fertile and rich, but has the reputation, as has also the lower course of the river, of being extremely unhealthful.

South of Tumaco to the Ecuadorian frontier again is of slight present-day importance except for a little mining and ivory-nut and rubber exploitation. The dividing line with Ecuador is formed by the River Mira, the course of which is navigable for launches for some 30 miles, but occupies a heavily wooded and almost uninhabited forest.

The population of the Pacific coast, like that of the Chocó, is almost entirely negro or mulatto. These negroes are about the laziest lot in Colombia; absolutely without ambition, they are content to live from day to day with the barest necessities, although the means of obtaining some little wealth are at hand. They are as care-free as they are indolent, but they are not vicious, and are physically strong, skilled and daring boatmen and swimmers, intelligent though totally uneducated, and generally sub-

missive to the authorities. Their huts, devoid of all furniture, they can put up in half a day and are settled for life, the girls marrying—or rather mating—and bearing children at ten and twelve years of age. Where left without any intercourse with the whites, as happens in some remote forest regions, they degenerate into African barbarism, leading a life as near to that of savages as can well be imagined. Disease is allowed to spread unchecked, and their lot, from the standpoint of the European, is indeed a miserable one, but they are happy in it.

The mulatto of the interior and Atlantic coast towns is a far more interesting type, and constitutes an important element in Colombian life. He has often gained great prominence in law, journalism, and in politics and revolutions, where he is usually on the Liberal side. To generalize : he is lively, passionate, subject to alternate moods of indolence and activity when enthusiasm and his fertile imagination have spurred him on ; he is a poet of tropical exuberance, but little depth ; is extremely sociable, artistic, and musical, voluble, and braggart ; will dance for hours and days ; is capable of arduous labour and often displays great heroism ; takes readily to education and literature, and then despises manual labour ; his vanity alone makes him ambitious. Physically he favours his African ancestors, but is somewhat more attenuated ; intellectually and temperamentally, he has assimilated much from his Spanish progenitors. Truly an interesting type, presenting latent good qualities, but also possibilities of danger and degeneration—a factor to be seriously reckoned with in Colombia. Whither will his evolution lead? That no one can predict.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ANDEAN REGIONS

The Departments of the Central and Western Cordilleras—Antioquia, Caldas, Valle, Cauca, Nariño, Tolima, and Huila.

IT was to the interior mountain and plateau regions, at altitudes where the climate was more like that at home, that the Spaniards were invariably attracted, no matter the distance from the coast. High up in cool regions throughout Spanish America, important capitals were founded—Mexico City, Cartago, Quito, Caracas, La Paz, Cuzco—all situated out of the debilitating reach of the lowland heat and incidentally safe from the attack of enemies besetting the coast. In Colombia, too, the same rule was observed ; the Spaniards sought out the Andine regions to found their homes. In the old cities like Bogotá and Popayan, Benalcazar's capital, the aristocratic families held sway and preserved the purity of their race, except occasionally in the earliest days, when, the idea of the divinity of royalty extant, it was considered no dishonour for a *conquistador* to marry the daughter of an Indian chief. Elsewhere there has been a strong admixture with the Indians. As a consequence of the varying degrees of intermixture and of the varying characteristics, on the one hand of the Indian stocks thus absorbed, and on the other of the lack of homogeneity among

the conquering Spaniards, themselves of various races—Celt, Teuton, Basque, Moor, Jew—and of the widely differing types, Castillian, Andalusian (the most numerous settlers in Colombia), Galician, Catalan, etc., plus the different environments in which these complex blood mixtures found themselves—several very distinct characters or types have in the course of the centuries developed in Colombia. For though we speak in the mass of the Andine region, yet local conditions of altitude, climate, and soil have differed greatly—here life came easy, there hard work was necessary for subsistence ; here an exuberance of nature, there dry air and an arid soil ; here blazing sunlight, there cold mists and fogs. By the time of the Independence, the types now generally recognized among the " white " Colombians—the term " white " often includes Indian mixtures—had become fairly well fixed. The further evolution has been complicated by the gradual dispersion and intermarriage of folk from the various regions, and the somewhat slower infusion into the " best circles " of drops of colour from parvenus. Each locality has its own peculiar characteristics, well worthy of study. In the last chapter we gave a fleeting glimpse of the inhabitants of the coast. Now we can only find space to mention the more general types of the Andeans — the Antioqueño, the Caucano, the Tolimense, the Bogotano, etc., and to review briefly their habitats.

The Antioqueño through the ages has had to work harder for a living than his brothers elsewhere : the soil was not so fertile ; greater attention had to be paid to agriculture ; mining required ingenuity, initiative, and enterprise ; he has, therefore, developed into a harder-working, more practical, more self-asserting, and more persevering man than other Colombians. His business ability and shrewdness as a trader has been attributed to a possibly stronger

admixture in his veins of Hebrew blood, the belief being that among the early settlers of Antioquia were numerous *Nuevos Cristianos*—converted or secret Jews—the supposition, for which there is only scanty historical evidence,[1] being asserted to be corroborated by their fondness for biblical names for themselves and their towns, and by a supposed facial resemblance. To this alleged descent, too, is attributed their remarkable prolificness ; bachelordom is almost a disgrace : they marry early and run to astonishingly large families—families of ten and twelve children, proudly presented to you by their parents as little *servidores de Usted*, are the rule rather than the exception. One prominent Antioquian family of the present day consists of twenty-nine brothers of the whole blood ! As a consequence they emigrate from home, colonize new regions, and become traders in old, and are spreading throughout Colombia. From a business standpoint they are believed by many to be the future salvation of the country.

The former Antioquia is now divided into two departments. The northern has retained the name, the southern has been called Caldas, in honour of Colombia's most distinguished scientist. Both departments, as might be expected from the character of their inhabitants, who add an aversion to revolutions to their other good qualities, are among the most prosperous in Colombia. In the country districts, mining, as we saw in a previous chapter, is the principal industry, but agriculture, too, is extensively carried on ; the Antioquieños prefer to be their own masters, so small landholdings are the rule, and this especially has tended to the increase of coffee production, for coffee is a troublesome crop to pick, and outside labour on a large scale in

[1] The immigration at one time of some two hundred converted Jewish families is reported.

other parts of the country is often hard to secure. The area of the Department of Antioquia, according to statistics published for the year 1907, was 6,772,744 hectares, of which 4,111,322 were Government lands (chiefly to the north and west), 1,733,095 forest lands, privately owned, and 928,327 hectares—over two million acres—were under cultivation. Of these, 600,238 hectares were in pasture, 178,599 in maize, 35,369 in *frijoles* (beans), 33,268 in sugar-cane, 26,820 in coffee, 21,969 in plantains, 21,955 in yucca, and the rest in rice, wheat, potatoes, barley, etc.

Planted on these two firm legs, farming and mining, commerce naturally thrives. But the political capital of Antioquia, Medellin, is not only the most important trading centre in Colombia, but is also noteworthy for its manufactures. New industries are constantly springing up ; at the time of writing, eleven new factories are being erected. The cotton and cloth mills—two, equipped with all modern machinery, are especially important—have been remarkably successful, and are turning out yarn, drills, ducks, prints, cloths, shirts, underclothing, stockings of a quality to compete with the imported. There are shoe factories, ice and electric plants, soap, candle, chocolate manufactures, glass and bottling works, breweries, iron and steel works, etc. The population is not quite 70,000, but its wealth is out of all proportion to the number of inhabitants. There are few, if any, cities of its size in the whole of South America that possess the wealth that Medellin does. Many of its business men have amassed fortunes, and handsome business blocks and elegant residences adorn the city, which is situated at an altitude of 4,600 feet on the banks of a small stream in a picturesque valley. The mining industry of the surrounding region naturally leaves its strong mark on the capital ; there are assay offices and chemical

A STREET IN MEDELLIN.

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laboratories (rarely found in Colombia), a school of mines, a museum, and a good public library. Recreation is provided by two theatres and a bull-ring which can accommodate 5,000 spectators. Education is well looked after: there are 52 primary schools, a number of secondary schools, a normal school with over 600 pupils, and the University. After Medellin, the most important city in the department is Sonson (population 28,000, altitude 8,200 feet), healthily situated in the midst of a good cattle, coffee, and mining region, and commercially very prosperous.

Manizales (population 33,251, altitude 6,400 feet), the capital of the Department of Caldas, is not so important as Medellin, but is advancing even more rapidly. It is a very recent town; the first settlement was in 1847, and it is only within the last thirty years that it has been attaining importance. Next to mining, cattle raising is of prime importance in the department, Pereira being the chief cattle mart. Statistics for the year 1911 give the number of head of live-stock in the department as 347,742, valued at $5,804,419: asses 459, goats 2,041, horses 41,700, pigs 76,323, sheep 10,551, mules 12,862, beef-cattle 168,485 head. In some of the villages Panama hats are manufactured on quite an extensive scale. Coffee cultivation is being rapidly increased, especially in the Quindio, where towns like Armenia are springing up almost with the rapidity of those of the Canadian North-west. The coffee exports of the department are already more than 150,000 bags a year, and the number of trees is officially given as over 6,600,000, of which over 5,000,000 are full-grown. Considerable tobacco is also raised.

To the south is the territory of the former State of the Cauca, now split up into the three departments El Valle (the Valley), Cauca, and Nariño.

Such is the fame of the Cauca Valley that it was long known throughout Colombia simply as *the* valley, and that is now its legal name. It is the valley *par excellence*. The name is used to designate especially that stretch, about 15 to 25 miles wide and 150 miles long, where the Cauca River has formed a gently sloping plain, at an altitude of 3,000 to 3,500 feet above sea-level, between the Central and the Western Cordilleras. A little north of Cartago and a little south of La Bolsa, the two ranges hem it in. The Cauca is one of the real garden spots of the world. No pen can describe the beauty of the broad smiling valley, as seen from favourable points on either range, with its broad green pastures, yellow fields of sugar-cane, dark woodlands, its towns nestling at the foothills, the Cauca River in the midst, silvered by the reflected sun, and, looking across, the *lomas* of the rapidly ascending foothills, with cameo-cut country houses, topped by the dense forests of the upper reaches of the mountains, rising to majestic heights. From some places in the western range will be seen the snow-clad Huila in icy contrast to the blazing sun shining on the luxuriant tropic vegetation beneath.

But the beauty of the valley is more than skin-deep. Its cattle pastures are abundant, and furnish the principal industry at the present time ; but with the opening of the Panama Canal and the completion within the coming year [1] of the short railroad from the coast (Buenaventura) and its prolongation north and south through the valley, it will probably not be many years before land in the Cauca becomes too valuable for cattle. Where plantains can attain a length of over 2 feet and a bunch of bananas a weight of 200 pounds ; where cacao, with no attention to proper cultivation, is grown that commands prices in the foreign markets 15 to 20

[1] See note p. 108.

VIEW FROM A COUNTRY HOUSE BALCONY, CAUCA VALLEY.

THE BALCONY (LA MANUELITA).

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per cent. higher than the Ecuadorian, African, or Brazilian product ; where sugar plantations yield for three and four generations without replanting or fertilizing, and the cane is ground the whole year round—given cheaper transportation, it takes no prophet to drive the cows from the pastures. Although there is already a population of 200,000 in the valley and its appurtenant hills, and many valuable holdings of cattle ranches, cocoa and coffee plantations and sugar estates, yet it can be safely stated that the Cauca is still only in its infancy. To say nothing of its possibilities for delicious tropical fruits, and for rubber and cocoa—for both of which the humid banks of the Cauca River are adapted—there is enough suitable land in the valley to produce at least 200,000 tons of sugar a year. If one can venture on a prediction, the one place in the world which will benefit the most by the Panama Canal is the Cauca Valley. But perhaps the writer is unduly prejudiced in its favour.

Of its present farming, no statistics for the whole valley are at hand, but for the north-eastern part, which for a short time constituted a separate department, Buga, a census of 1908 gave 467,817 head of live-stock, 2,719,660 cacao-trees, 1,783,500 coffee-trees, 1,446,470 tobacco plants, 12,969,000 banana and plantain trees, 11,045,000 *matas* of sugar-cane, and 63,600 acres of made pasture land.

The only drawback is the character of the labour ; the lower classes are largely negro. Intelligent? Yes ; but, as elsewhere, inclined to laziness. The upper class Caucano has many charming qualities—an openhanded hospitality, high social and intellectual attainments—but he has not in general heretofore shown the sturdy perseverance and practical turn of mind of his little-liked neighbour, the Antioqueño, who is invading his territory ; he is less frugal and

more easily turned astray from business by the lure of literature—we are all poets in the Cauca—and by the ambition to rule. The Cauca has produced more than her share of Colombia's distinguished statesmen and men of letters. In politics the Caucano is a leader to be loved but a foe to be feared. A politician from another section, embittered by the tactics of a Caucano adversary, once narrated the following legend: "The Almighty, after He had created the rest of the world, produced as His *chef-d'œuvre* the Cauca Valley. Ensued the struggle with Lucifer, who, victorious, imposed, as an essential condition to a treaty of peace, the cession of the Cauca Valley. Reluctantly, this was at last consented to. 'And now what are you going to do with the Masterpiece of Creation?' Lucifer was asked, and responded, 'I will people it with people I would not have in Hell.'"

Contrary to what we find in Antioquia, large landed estates are the rule. But they have mostly passed from the hands of the old aristocratic families, who have either removed to Bogotá or have become impoverished. A few, however, still inhabit the Cauca at Cali (population 25,000), the "Sultana of the valley," undoubtedly destined to increase its lead as a commercial emporium; at agricultural centres like Palmira, Buga, Tulua, and Santander, and especially on the fertile tableland of Popayan, to the south. Popayan, one of the famous Spanish towns where old aristocratic traditions of culture have been preserved, and where is spoken perhaps the best Spanish in the New World, is the capital of the Department of Cauca. It is an interesting town, but commercially moribund. Situated at an altitude of 5,900 feet, it is blessed with a perpetually cold and healthy spring climate, but troubled by violent electrical storms and frequent earthquakes, due to being in the heart of a volcanic region. Of

the nearby volcanoes, Sotará (4,850 metres) is apparently extinct. Some 17 miles east of the town is Puracé (4,908 metres), with a crest of snow beautiful against the flames and multi-coloured smoke-clouds it emits. On its flanks, strange to say, are rich, broad cattle pastures. Down its north-westerly slope flows the curious River Vinagre, described by Boussingault, which derives its name from the acidity of its waters, surcharged with sulphuric acid.

A few days' journey by mule to the south is the capital of the mountainous Department of Nariño, the city of Pasto (population 16,000, altitude 8,600 feet). Situated on this cold elevated plateau, it naturally has a healthful climate, and is rapidly increasing in wealth and importance in spite of its isolation. The Pastuso Indians, who form the bulk of the population (negroes are almost never found in the highlands in Colombia), are a hardworking lot; they raise in considerable quantity wheat and barley, and are skilled besides in divers home industries, making Panama hats in abundance, and pottery, wooden ornaments, and utensils tastefully coloured with the celebrated Pasto varnish, and weaving cotton and woollen cloth. At still higher altitudes are the towns of Tuquerres and Ipiales, both at an elevation of over 10,000 feet above the sea; the latter is the frontier town and customs entry from Ecuador. The Indians here are similar to their neighbours of northern Ecuador, hardworking and industrious, but retrograde to a degree of fanaticism. All speak Spanish, and are consequently classed as "civilized," though possessing little education.

On the other or eastern side of the Central Cordillera lie the Departments of Tolima and of Huila, carved from the former State or Department of Tolima. Huila, which takes its name from the mountain, is but sparsely settled, although there is much

good agricultural and pasture land. The low-lying regions about the Magdalena River are hot and malarial ; hook-worm and anæmia are prevalent, and a peculiar skin disease, found also in other parts of Colombia, ugly but not dangerous, called "*carate*," which leaves whitened and discoloured blotches on the face and neck, is common, especially among workers in the cacao plantations. The higher climes on the flanks of the Cordillera are healthful, but little inhabited : as we get farther south, the population becomes sparser and sparser ; means of communication are very scanty and trade becomes almost nil. This southerly region is, however, of intense interest to the archæologist, for near the little village of San Agustin some remarkable remains of an ancient civilization have been discovered. General Codazzi in 1857, while engaged on his Government survey, first ran across them, but although they have since been visited by a few scientists, little light has been thrown on the origin of the gigantic statues, massive stone coffins, artificial mounds, and remarkable chambers with sculptured stone door jambs that have been found. The remains were recently visited by Dr. Stoepel, on behalf of the Berlin Museum, who presented his findings to the 1912 Congress of Americanists. Further investigations, there is every reason to believe, will prove fruitful and will reveal many more interesting vestiges of the cultured race that must have dwelt here.

An interesting description of the region of the head-waters of the Magdalena is given in an unpublished report by Mr. A. A. Allen to the American Museum of Natural History :

"We left the valley (Las Papas) April 3, 1912, on the trail for San Agustin. The trail leads practically NE. upward, steeply in places, and very rocky until the top of the Paramo is reached at 12,300 feet. It was extremely rainy and foggy, so that one could not see far, but it was very noticeable that there was no sharp line to tree

CENTRAL WESTERN COLOMBIA.

Drawn, under the supervision of Frank M. Chapman, chiefly from maps of Robert Blake White. Reproduced by permission of the American Museum of Natural History.

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growth as at San Isabel. One looks down into narrow valleys covered with Paramo vegetation, while all about the mountains are heavily forested, in places probably up to 13,000 feet. But even on these wooded slopes the forest is not continuous, but here and there occur patches of the Paramo vegetation scattered about rather miscellaneously—their presence perhaps determined by the nature of the soil rather than the altitude alone. Most of these 'Paramo valleys' appear to me to be the basins of ancient lakes which had in some way broken through their barriers and left behind them only those broad flat-bottomed beds of loose muck which have gradually been covered over with the growth of coarse sedges except where the small stream still meanders. Just below timber-line the forest is extremely dense, with a great deal of moss, caladiums, etc., and with a tree of the banyan type quite prevalent. The fringe of stunted trees is quite restricted. The trail continues along a ridge for a short distance, judged by the low growth, and then begins a steady descent. At 11,000 feet a fair-sized mountain stream is crossed, and then the trail follows approximately down its valley—extremely rocky and stony in parts and ever very wet with a stream flowing down it. When a level stretch is reached, it is generally very marshy, making progress difficult. In places great cliffs rise perpendicularly for hundreds of feet at either side of the valley, and waterfalls tumble interrupted from the top to the river below—at least a thousand feet. These falls could be seen, however, only at intervals when the fog parted for an instant. At other times one could not see 50 feet in advance. Thus the trail descends to Santa Marta, at an altitude of 9,000 feet. Santa Marta is a rather large but unfinished building, used as a general posada by all the Indian packers. It is situated in a beautiful amphitheatre of perhaps a half mile in diameter, whose perpendicular walls are pierced only by the ingress and egress of the stream (and trail). The river even here is a swollen torrent, and called the Magdalena by the Indians. All about is the luxuriant moss forest. It would make an ideal collecting spot, and I hope Miller got back to it.

"A long day's trip over a trail which is comparable only with that between Cartago and Novita brings one to Los Monos, which is nothing but a small lean-to situated at the edge of a small clearing. Three hours farther, ascending and descending brings one to Peña Seco, a niche in a perpendicular cliff undercut so as to be perfectly dry, and no shelter of any kind has been erected or is necessary. A few hundred feet below, almost straight down, rushes the Magdalena, here a mad torrent. The altitude is but 7,000 feet, but the moss forest extends uninterrupted down its course and covers its sides—wonderful country! I was sorry not to be in a better position to appreciate it."

The Department of Huila, due largely to its isolation and to the strong preponderance of Indian blood in its population, is as backward perhaps as any in the whole Republic. There is not a single bank and not a single cart-road in the department, and but few mule-roads connect it with other departments ; only nine periodicals of very limited circulation are published ; there is no electric plant, and we might go on indefinitely enumerating what there is *not*. No particular improvement can be looked for until a railroad is built up the valley of the Magdalena—something for the distant future. As a commercial highway, the river itself, the most important artery of communication, although only navigable for steamers at certain seasons, is not susceptible of much improvement. The principal exports are coffee, rubber, brought from the Amazon regions, and Panama hats, called " Suazas," from the former name of the town where they are chiefly made ; the production of cacao, formerly important, has greatly diminished, owing to a blight that has attacked the trees and against which no protective measures have been taken. The capital, Neiva (population 8,300, altitude 1,500 feet), as the head of navigation and the principal town on the road from Popayan to Bogotá, has considerable importance as a commercial centre.

The Department of Tolima to the north is of greater present-day importance ; considerable mining development has taken place, especially at Mariquita, Frias, Fresno, and Anaime ; at Chaparral, a little asphalt has been taken out. The Dorada Railway, the Magdalena River, and the important mule-road across the Quindio, are in its territory and add to its commerce ; the upper slopes of the Central Cordillera are cool, healthful, and in many places fertile, and are being rapidly populated by Antioqueños, who dedicate themselves chiefly to coffee and cattle, and

some of whose towns, like Marulanda and Manzanares, are growing rapidly. Ibagué, the capital (altitude 1,299 metres, population 24,566), is a pleasantly situated and well-laid-out town of considerable commercial importance. The Magdalena *llanos* are given over to cattle, some of the ranches sustaining thousands of head, and a little cacao, of good quality, and sugar-cane are also raised. The tobacco of Ambalema at one time had a reputation almost superior to that of Havana, and the town still shows evidence of the former wealth which it possessed in the good old tobacco days; a fairly good quality of cigars is still produced, chiefly for Colombian consumption, though some are sent to Germany. There are three large tobacco and cigar factories, employing chiefly ill-paid women workers; the largest is owned by an English family. Statistics for 1908 gave the number of head of live-stock in the department as 423,627, valued at $5,183,975.

This region (Honda, Ambalema, Ibagué) is in the heart of Colombia and inevitably bound to acquire a considerable increment of wealth with the railroad extensions that are now being carried forward. The Tolimense of the hills is hardy and of good physique, makes an excellent *vaquero* or cowboy, but has not the aptitude for business and is not as enterprising as the Antioqueño, who is becoming the dominant factor in the commercial population.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ANDEAN REGIONS—(*continued*)

The Departments of the Eastern Cordillera—Boyacá, Cundinamarca, Santander, and Norte de Santander.

THE Departments of Boyacá, Santander, Norte de Santander, and Cundinamarca occupy the extensive tablelands of the Eastern Cordillera, its cross ranges and flanks down to the Magdalena River on the west and to the *llanos* and *selvas* of the Orinoco and Amazon watershed on the east. Of these four departments, the two Santanders, extremely mountainous, are but sparsely inhabited ; Boyacá is, comparatively speaking, densely populated, largely by those of Indian blood, and Cundinamarca, the seat of the capital of the Republic, is at once the most thickly settled and the best developed region of Colombia.

The capital and chief city of the Department of North Santander is San José de Cúcuta. Many afflictions have visited the town : it has suffered severely from earthquakes—one in 1875 almost totally destroyed it ; situated on a plain at an altitude of only 1,000 feet, and shut in by surrounding hills, it is hot and unhealthy, and frequent epidemics of yellow fever have raged. Nevertheless, it has survived and progressed : the surrounding country, rich in coffee plantations, makes the city

an important commercial centre, although its population is only 16,000.[1]

Built up after the earthquake with wide, tree-fringed streets, in pleasing contrast to the usual narrow streets of the small Spanish American towns, electric light, a steam tramway, telephone service, a theatre, covered markets and slaughter-house, several notable charitable institutions, including an orphan asylum and poor-house founded by the widow of a Danish resident, complete the modern equipment of Cúcuta.

The coffee and other exports find their way out by railroad to the River Zulia, thence by steamers to Maracaibo, a Venezuelan port, where German houses are firmly established, which control the inland navigation companies. From the course of trade, it is natural that the town, together with the vicinity it supplies, finds itself somewhat isolated from the rest of Colombia, with which it has practically no commercial intercourse. A project is now on foot, the reader will recall, to connect Cúcuta by rail with the lower Magdalena River. This would undoubtedly be a great step in advance. In fact, it is almost a political necessity, as thereby the trade of this north-eastern region of Colombia would be liberated from paying tribute to Venezuela, which has frequently interposed excessive and unjust restric-

[1] The imports in 1909 were 2,216,368 kilos, valued at $475,555—$140,875 from Germany (textiles, $84,444), $141,118 from the United States (textiles, $70,221, foodstuffs, $24,767); $71,145 from Great Britain (textiles, $57,175), $95,451 from Venezuela (salt, $52,864). Exports in 1909 were: coffee, 9,271,381 kilos, valued at $1,189,915; hides, 114,243, valued $21,458, rubber, $80. In 1910, imports $518,272; exports, $861,918. In 1911, exports (Puerto Villamizar): coffee, 7,960,255 kilos; hides, 90,715 kilos. Imports: salt, 1,318,155 kilos; other merchandise, 2,270,525 kilos. All figures are in silver money. Nearly half of the foreign trade of the city is in the hands of four German firms. There are no English or American firms established here.

tions : the navigation of the Zulia River and the Orinoco, which further to the south serves as the boundary between Venezuela and Colombia, has often been the subject of international controversy between the two nations, which should be, but are not, on the friendliest terms.

There are only two other towns of any size in North Santander—Ocaña (population 17,000, altitude 3,600 feet) and Pamplona (population 14,790, altitude 7,100 feet), the latter founded in 1549 by the *conquistador* Pedro de Ursua, one of the famous seekers after El Dorado. Both towns are in the centre of good coffee regions : cacao and hats are also exported. Pamplona's trade flows through Cúcuta, that of Ocaña by the Magdalena. A movement is now under way to build a wagon-road from Ocaña to its river port, utilizing a section already constructed, and run automobiles and Renard traction engines on it.

Bucaramanga (altitude 2,850 feet, population 20,000), the capital of the Department of Santander, is a few days' ride from Ocaña and Cúcuta, but it has its own independent outlets, at present viâ the Lebrija and Sogamoso Rivers, tributaries of the Magdalena, to be replaced in the future, it is hoped, by the Puerto Wilches railroad now under construction. It, too, is a very important coffee centre, and the town is fairly progressive, its streets and little parks well kept, and lighted by electricity.

The character of the Santandereños is somewhat similar to that of the Antioqueños : they are indefatigable workers and economical, and readily colonize new regions, though not augmenting very rapidly in number. Their individualism is shown by the preponderance of small landholdings, which accounts for the importance of the coffee industry. Physically they are of fine appearance ; there has been little infusion of negro blood, except near the

COFFEE AND RUBBER PLANTATION IN THE HILLS.

Magdalena River ; and the upper classes have preserved, at least it has so appeared to me, more of Castilian fairness of skin and length of limb than other Colombians.

The low-lying parts of the Department of Santander on the western slope of the Cordillera down to the Magdalena are but little inhabited. For the most part they are covered by dense tropical forest, rich in valuable products, but little exploited, exception made of the ivory-nuts of the Sogamoso. Certain parts of the Carare and Opon, small tributaries of the Magdalena, are still inhabited by savage Indians, whose hostility to, or rather fear of, the whites has hindered even proper exploration of this region in the very heart of Colombia, though the tribes are numerically unimportant. A Jesuit missionary who recently undertook a voyage among them states that there are only a few score families. The land they occupy is not particularly fertile nor healthful, so no effort has been made to deprive them of it, or otherwise to civilize them.

The most densely populated parts of the Department of Boyacá are the elevated plateaux which, while possessing no large cities, are dotted with numbers of small towns devoted to the agriculture of the *tierra fria*. Wheat, barley, maize, alfalfa, and potatoes are the principal crops, raised in important quantities for local consumption and for export to the neighbouring Department of Cundinamarca. The capital is the historic town of Tunja (population 8,407, altitude 8,600), the northern capital of the Chibcha rulers ; during the Spanish days it was the seat of important families and many of the old buildings are still in existence. After a period of decadence, the town is once again advancing—it even has electric light. Near it is Chiquinquirá (population 13,000), famous for its church and a miraculous Virgin, which attracts thousands of pilgrims. The

Indians, who form the bulk of the population of Boyacá, are sunk in a fanatical ignorance, from which little effort is made to arouse them, though they are as submissive to the priests to-day as they were to their Spanish conquerors. Educational facilities are lacking—there are fewer schools in proportion to the population than anywhere else in the Republic. Only 3 per cent. of the population attends school.

The real estate of the former Department of Boyacá (one-half of the present Department) was valued on the tax rolls (1908) at $12,548,611 : its mineral wealth in exploitation, besides the Muzo emerald mines, is copper and marble on a very small scale. The latest statistics at hand (1907) give the number of head of live-stock as 331,056, valued at $3,328,866 for the former subdivision of Boyacá, and 531,494 head for the former subdivision of Santa Rosa. Sheep form an important item ; goats, too, rarely found in other parts of Colombia, are numerous. The natives are expert in weaving wool, which finds its way largely into *ruanas* (coarse mantles, extensively worn)—it must not be forgotten that the climate of the high tableland is cold. The chief market for the productions of the department is Bogotá, with which city it is now in communication by a good road, the best in the whole Republic.

The Department of Cundinamarca can be conveniently divided into two parts—the one, the plateau and the mountains enclosing it, the other, the slopes of the Cordillera down to the Magdalena on one side and the Orinoco watershed *llanos* on the other. It embraces, therefore, within close range, every variety of climate and soil to be found in Colombia—the *tierra ardiente*, or hot zone, of the Magdalena Valley, the *tierra caliente*, or warm zone, reaching to an altitude of 3,500 feet or thereabouts, the *tierra*

templada, or temperate zone, embracing the altitudes from 3,500 to 8,000 feet, and the *tierra fria,* or cool zone, at the higher altitudes. The cold, bleak regions in Colombia, where vegetation becomes scanty, dying off with the *frailejón,* a hardy shrub, before the region of perpetual snow is reached, are known as the *paramos.*

The best developed parts of the hot and temperate zones of Cundinamarca are along the Magdalena Valley and the routes of the Girardot Railway, the road to Cambao and the Honda trail. In the warmer zone there are good sugar plantations : in the temperate zone is grown the coffee so favourably known in the markets of the world under the name of Bogotá : it attains its perfection at an altitude of about 5,000 feet, and nowhere else in Colombia has such careful attention been given to its cultivation. The Sabana itself, by which name the plateau of Bogotá is known, is all taken up with farms and towns—there is scarcely a foot of undeveloped land. The climate is admirably adapted to the European-blooded animals, and the gentleman-farmer of Bogotá takes great pride in his stock. The finest cattle in Colombia, a great many of imported Durham and Hereford stock, and excellent horses of English and Norman descent are bred here. This is the only section in Colombia, too, where dairying on any extensive scale is carried on, and where the general level of agriculture has risen above the primitive. The lands not devoted to pasture are utilized chiefly for wheat, barley, and potatoes.

The live-stock statistics of Cundinamarca for 1909 are given as follows : beef-cattle, 304,526 head ; horses, 73,067 ; mules and donkeys, 58,851 ; sheep, 134,189 ; goats, 33,848 ; pigs, 154,920. The chief agricultural products for the same year were : coffee, 68,900 *cargas;*[1] sugar and molasses, 285,079 ;

[1] A *carga* is a mule load, that is, about 250 pounds.

wheat, 176,306; potatoes, 611,847; and barley, 40,104 *cargas*. To these figures must be added those of the former Department of Zipaquira, now embraced in Cundinamarca, which for 1908 showed 235,342 head of all classes of live-stock, valued at $2,653,468, and 3,394,756 coffee, 2,257,000 banana, and 246,200 cacao trees, etc., and 22,260 hectares planted in maize, 15,665 in wheat, 2,966 in arracacha, 7,919 in potatoes, and several thousand hectares in minor crops. To all this agricultural wealth must be added the fact, as we noted in the chapter on mining, that the mountains enclosing the Sabana are rich in salt and coal, besides iron and other minerals on a small scale not exploited.

The life of the Sabana, of course, revolves around Bogotá, the national capital, where the aristocracies of blood, of wealth, and of intellect are centred. Here is a synthesis of Colombia [1]: here we find in the strongest relief the contrasts that so tragically mark the country. On one street, lined with substantial residences, the elegant Bogotano, wealthy and cultured, educated in foreign universities, speaking three or four languages, attired in silk hat and frock-coat of the latest European cut, passes by in his carriage and pair or automobile; around the corner is a group of miserable, besotted Indians or *mestizos*, ragged, shoeless, half-starved, none of whom can read or write, huddled together in a reeking disease-laden hovel of a dirty *chicheria*, for sullen companionship over their interminable glasses of the

[1] Dr. M. D. Eder, who has read the proofs of this book, writes me: "I cannot agree that it is a synthesis of Colombia. It is curiously *not* typical of Colombia. I believe it *is* only in Colombia and Spanish-speaking countries (and Southern Italy) that there is any real democratic feeling; that rich and poor can exist side by side meeting on equal terms. The form of government is democratic, the actual government despotic, but the people the freest I have ever known."

vile fermented *chicha*. True, somewhat analogous pictures might be found if we could suddenly juxtapose Whitechapel and the West End, Fifth Avenue and the New York slums, but our Anglo-Saxon spectacles, conveniently opaque at home, are splendidly translucent near the Equator, and give us the right to criticize and to declaim that a century of Republicanism in Colombia, with its dictatorships, revolutions, and Church oppressions, has proved a failure.

Of course, not all the lower classes spend their days in the *chicherias*. Thousands are far happier toiling in the factories than are their Anglo-Saxon fellows. Bogotá and its suburbs possess a goodly number of factories: matches, plate glass, clay-tubing, beer, flour, candles made here have dislodged their foreign competitors. Many other articles are manufactured which compete favourably in price and quality with imported goods—glassware, cotton goods, silks, linens, cigarettes, biscuits, mineral waters, shoes—though they have not altogether replaced the foreign articles, as the quantity manufactured is insufficient. The largest industrial establishment in the city is the *Bavaria* brewery, employing 300 labourers, an up-to-date concern, founded in 1890, and run naturally by a German. Ten years ago its brew-master started a smaller rival brewery, which also turns out very good beer. The owner of the Bavaria is also the head of the glass-works, owned by a German company, and employing over 200 labourers. The other industrial establishments of Bogotá are nearly all in the hands of Colombians; there are several flourmills—the largest cost over $150,000—and a modern chocolate factory, "Chaves y Equitativa," representing probably a larger investment. The ordinary arts and crafts are well represented, supplying the town with everything for the complete comfort of life as

known in European capitals, though, of course, for ultra luxuries resort is had abroad. The number of artisans (their own "bosses") may be of interest: architects and builders, 42; carpenters, 350; cabinet makers, 80; blacksmiths, 60; tinsmiths, 70; tailors, 200; saddlers and harness makers, 110; shoemakers, 350; barbers, 80; stonecutters, 50; florists, 80; mechanics, 130; dyers, 10. There are 40 dentists, and a like number of pharmacists. According to the last census, the population of Bogotá is 123,000.

The railroads and tramcar lines, the National Government and the municipality are also large employers of labour and of clerical forces. Office seekers for positions great and small gather in force—every other man in Bogotá deems himself entitled to a living furnished by the Government. The routine business of the Government is run with considerable red tape, delay, and consequent waste, and civil servants are not worked to the point of efficiency that is obtained by the banks and commercial houses. Even in these there is an absence of any rush and frenzy—business moves along tranquilly, but in substantial volume. The favourite places for discussing commercial and financial transactions are certain street-corners, where Bogotá's leading business men gather daily to sun themselves and make their fortunes. The banks represent a considerable aggregation of wealth, and two national general insurance companies (with a capital respectively of $2,000,000 and $300,000 gold) are also important financial institutions. A few foreign bankers, insurance companies, and manufacturers are represented by agents, and the stores and markets are well stocked with foreign and domestic goods and products. In short, nothing is wanting for all the material comforts of life.

The climate is on the whole agreeable, though cool

THE CAPITOL, BOGOTÁ.

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to the point even of chilliness in early mornings and evenings and on damp days, all too frequent, and the houses seem unsuited to the climate, built as are those in warmer climes with large, open *patios* and with no artificial heating. The rarity of the air (the altitude is over 8,000 feet) is somewhat trying. One is conscious of the act of breathing ; the new-comer finds he cannot walk briskly for many minutes without stopping to take breath, and one is momentarily quite exhausted, for instance, after a set of tennis.[1]

Save for people with weak hearts, for whom the altitude might be risky, Bogotá would be a thoroughly healthful place were only its water supply and sewage better attended to. The present water supply is not only insufficient in quantity for the city's needs, but is not kept free from contamination. The sewage drains into the little streams traversing the city, which are not only left uncovered, but where laundresses are allowed to come and wash their linen. It is not surprising, therefore, that epidemics of typhoid fever break out from time to time. It must not be inferred that the Bogotanos are not fully alive to the needs of the situation ; but while waiting to negotiate a large loan to enable the city to carry forward improvements in these respects and others, minor protective measures that could be undertaken with present resources have been neglected. Other improvements that are needed are better paving (the cobblestones of the streets make driving, except on one or two thoroughfares, a luxury one is right ready to forgo) and an extension of the electric tramways. These are now owned by the municipality, which bought out the American company for $800,000, cash down, after a tense situation had been created by a boycott, fanned

[1] There are good tennis courts, specially at the grounds of the Polo Club, one of the three or four attractive clubs which help make life pleasant in this inland capital.

by anti-American feeling, which sprang out of an unfortunate quarrel between the American manager and the police.

To offset bad water, the food supply is excellent, and of wonderful variety. That is one of the beauties of the climate of the Sabana. One gets all northern fruits and flowers, blooming the year round, and vegetables, as well as quite a few of the tropical ones. It is an interesting sight to see tropical palms growing side by side with handsome northern trees, like oaks and firs. Some of the Sabana roads are lined with blackberries, and one gets delicious little wild strawberries ; apples, pears, and peaches are grown, though usually of a poor quality, not properly cultivated. Even oranges can grow on the Sabana, and from the nearby hot country they send up all manner of tropical fruits and vegetables. Then there is no dearth of good cooks : the epicure can enjoy private dinners and public banquets equal to any in the world. The one lady who reads this book will be interested to know that the servant problem is reduced to a minimum in Bogotá ; good domestics are plentiful and cheap—five to ten dollars a month is high pay. In the houses of the well-to-do the servants are well treated and lead happy lives ; they have ample quarters of their own, centring around their own *patio;* and enough of the old patriarchal *régime* survives to make them really a part of the family.

The Bogotanos are exceptionally hospitable to foreigners, for whom life is indeed made agreeable. And none need thirst for even intellectual companionship. The Bogotanos are proud, and rightly so, of their literary and artistic attainments. Concerts are frequently given, and occasionally art exhibitions are held. The standard of operatic performances is high, and the opera and the drama is well housed in the Teatro Colon, a fine building

with attractive *foyers*, promenades, and reception-rooms. Nowhere else in the world perhaps is there a keener relish for literary wit and a keener zest for an easy-going literary life than in Bogotá. The National Library contains 60,000 volumes, including some priceless *incunabula* and other rare works. There are a number of book-stores ; two especially, the Libreria Colombiana and the Libreria Americana, keep up-to-date stocks of foreign books, and are not surpassed in cities five times the size of Bogotá. A brief view of the intellectual movement in Colombia I shall attempt to give in a later chapter. Suffice it to say for the present that Bogotá is naturally the heart of it, and that it has well deserved, and still deserves, the name that has been given to it of the Athens of South America.

The masses? An interesting account of the type of Indians that inhabit the plateaux of the Eastern Cordillera was given half a century ago by a Colombian writer, José Maria Samper. Making allowance for the defects of broad generalization which this prolific writer was wont to indulge in, it holds as good to-day as when it was written. Says Samper :

"The character of the mass of the Andine population (purely indigenous) is notable for patient labour, religious sentiment carried to the point of idolatry and the grossest superstition, lack of every truly artistic sentiment, love of a sedentary life, of immobility and routine, a humility full of timidity, dissimulated malice which somewhat tempers the relative stupidity of the *muisca*, a certain impassibility which makes him indifferent to all strong emotions, a great curiosity respecting purely material or exterior things, spirit of hospitality but slightly developed, and a patent incapacity to obey the impulse of Progress. . . . The Indian of the plateaux is wanting in enthusiasm and passion, but loves marriage and is faithful to his hearth and wife. Moreover, he loves his little bit of soil to servility and likes *chicha* to an excess which frequently leads him to drunkenness. He adores processions and mummeries and displays much credulity for the marvellous. Weak in hand-to-hand struggle because his strength resides only in his neck, back, and legs, and

without any dash in combat, he displays nevertheless an astounding endurance in carrying enormous weights and exhibits the stupid valour of passive obedience. He can neither run nor ride a horse, but walks days without feeling any fatigue, provided he is given *chicha*, and he travels horrible roads and paths laden with some huge case of stupendous volume and weighing 150 kilograms or more, supporting himself on a heavy cane, bowed double with the load but never exhausted nor weakening. As poor a hunter as he is a fighter, because he lacks initiative, daring, and agility, he nevertheless makes an excellent soldier of the line. True, he rarely advances, but he never retreats, and ever knows how to die at his post, to which he seems nailed alike in victory as in defeat.

"For the Indian of the Andine countryside, the ties of society are perilous, the schoolmaster is an incomprehensible myth, the *alcalde* a useless personage, the parish priest a demi-god, and the tax-collector little less than the pest or thunderbolt. His life is concentrated upon his primitive hut and half acre of farm, and his great festival day that upon which he goes to the market-place, principally Bogotá, to sell his fruit and vegetables, his chickens and eggs, carried in reed cages laden on his back and strapped to his forehead. The *muisca* Indian is neither quarrelsome nor communicative, neither revengeful nor obsequious. Selfish, timid, and distrustful, he avoids written agreements, hides himself on recruiting days and elections and when a census is being taken, and does everything possible to evade taxes. In short, the descendant of the *muiscas* is a passive being, a kind of deaf-mute in the presence of European civilization, incapable of either good or bad, thanks to the sad state in which he has lived since the Conquest and to the inelasticity of his intellectual and moral faculties.

"While the men are generally cold, suspicious, and hypocritical, the women on the contrary often show themselves frank, kind, unselfish, accessible to kind treatment, grateful, and good mothers. The women have no less endurance relatively than the men for long journeys and carrying heavy weights. Both sexes are fond of money for money's sake: they haggle impertinently and look with suspicion at all coin tendered them. It is but justice to recognize that all their defects are rather the consequence of vicious prior institutions and of the exploitation more or less crafty or violent to which these poor natives have been subjected by the priests, the large landed proprietors, and influential men of their small localities. These defects are also due to the absolute lack of elementary education in many rural districts. . . ."

Besides to Indian villages, there are a number of interesting excursions that the traveller can make

from Bogotá. Taking any of the railroads, one reaches various points of the Sabana, which give one an excellent idea of its remarkable fertility and farming development and of the comfort of the nearby country residences, summer resorts of the Bogotanos. Bogotá lies at the very foot of two mountains, Guadalupe and Monserrate, each crowned with an interesting old chapel ; the easy ascent of either of these is well repaid : the view from the summit is noteworthy for its extent, variety, and beauty. But the one excursion that no visitor can afford to miss is to the famous falls of Tequendama, which are situated some three miles or so from one of the little stations on the railway *del Sur*. The ride from the station by the shores of the Bogotá River is enjoyable, passing rapids and the electric plant which supplies light and power to the city ; the enterprise, a model one in point of equipment and operation, has been an exceedingly profitable venture for the native owners. The falls themselves are remarkable for their height, some 450 feet, three times that of Niagara, rather than for the volume of water, but it is the beauty of the whole scene that beggars description. The river, suddenly leaving the plateau, has eroded an enormous oval basin : it is as if a colossal hand had scooped a tremendous basin out of the mountain—a huge round hole with sheer precipitous cliffs down to a dizzy depth, and steep, wooded mountains rising all around. At one end the river crashes down, arching over the rocky walls, to be dispersed in clouds of spray ; at the other end the tremendous basin or crater narrows its walls into a cañon, through which flows the now seemingly tiny river ; on a level with our eyes and above our heads, trees of northern growth, far below us the fluffy-topped, interwoven tropical vegetation already begins to show itself.

Longer excursions, more arduous but well worth

while, are to the sacred lakes of Tunja and Guatavita, intimately connected with the religious rites of the Chibchas, and into which they are reputed to have cast much of their treasure to prevent it from falling into the hands of the goldthirsty Spaniards. As a consequence of these traditions, thousands and thousands of dollars have been spent by fortune-hunters, both in the old days and in recent times, in attempts to recover this sunken wealth ; companies have even been formed and stock sold abroad to dredge and drain these lakes ; interesting archæological relics have been found, and a little treasure has been brought up, but so far in insufficient quantity to repay expenses. Guatavita is specially interesting as being the traditional home of *El Dorado*, the gilded man. An old Spanish chronicler, Juan Rodriguez Fresle, writing just a century after the Conquest, gives the following version of the Indian legend :

" It was the custom among this tribe that the prince who was to succeed his uncle in the kingdom (such was the law of descent) had to fast six years enclosed in a cave dedicated for that purpose, during all which time he could not converse with women, nor eat meat nor salt nor peppers nor other forbidden things. Likewise it was forbidden him to see the sun : only at night was he allowed to go forth and see the moon and the stars, and he had to retire before the sun shone on him. The long fast completed, he was enthroned king and cacique, and the first day of his reign he had to journey forth to the great lake Guatavita and there make offerings and sacrifices to the Demon, whom they regarded as God and Ruler. The ceremony consisted in this : on this lake they built a great raft, decorating it and adorning it as beautifully as possible : on it they placed four brasiers wherein they burnt much *moque*, which is the incense of these parts, and turpentine and many other diverse perfumes. At this epoch, the lake was round and very deep, so that a big ship could navigate it. A multitude of Indians, men and women, decorated with gay plumage, bright dresses, and each with a crown of gold, encircled the lake. Bonfires were prepared all around, and just as soon as they began to burn incense on the raft, the bonfires were lighted on land, so that the smoke made the sun and daylight invisible. Thereupon, the prince was stripped naked

and anointed with a sticky clay, and powdered with gold dust until he was completely covered with the precious metal. He was then placed on the raft, whereon he stood erect, and at his feet was placed a mountain of gold and emeralds for him to offer as a sacrifice to the gods. With him went the four most important caciques, his subjects, likewise muchly adorned with plumage, and crowns, bracelets, anklets, and earrings of gold, and each one took an offering. As the raft left the shore, thousands of trumpets, flutes, and other instruments began to play, and a great shout arose, thundering throughout the mountain and the valleys, and the noise continued until the raft reached the middle of the lake, whence the waving of a banner gave the signal for silence. Then the golden Indian (*el indio dorado*) made his sacrifice, throwing all the gold at his feet into the lake, and the other caciques who accompanied him did likewise. The sacrifice completed, they lowered the banner, which all this time had been held aloft, and as the raft returned to land, the shouts and music recommenced, and they danced and gesticulated in their manner. Such was the ceremony with which they crowned their king, recognizing him as Lord and Ruler.

"From this ceremony is derived the famous name of *El Dorado*, which has cost so many lives and so much property. . . ."

Treasures a thousandfold greater than those of a gilded Indian ruler still await the modern business *conquistador* in Colombia. They will be no gambler's find, but the conquests of modern science, applied with energy, initiative, and patient perseverance, over the country's rich natural resources.

CHAPTER XV

THE LLANOS AND THE SELVAS

THE low plain that extends from the Eastern Cordillera of the Andes to the distant frontiers, the vast hinterland that stretches roadless and lonely to the banks of the Orinoco on the east and of the Amazon or its tributaries on the south, is admittedly of little present-day commercial importance ; but so lavishly have its praises been sounded, in such glowing colours have its possibilities been painted, and with such assurance has it been forecast as the seat of a coming empire, that no volume on Colombia would be complete without at least a summary of the scanty knowledge at hand concerning these domains and an examination of the possible bases for such extravagant claims.

Land there is, land stretching out interminably, vast areas of it ! There is territory enough and to spare for a population, under favourable conditions, of millions upon millions. Hundreds of thousands of square miles ; an area, even waiving the nation's rights to disputed territory, equal to that of France and Germany put together, more than one-half, nearly two-thirds, of Colombia's entire territory is comprised in this outlying region.

A natural division is afforded into two zones, the northern, that of the *llanos,* open grassy plains, sparsely wooded, watered by the tributaries of the Orinoco ; the southern, that of the *selvas* or forests of the great Amazon watershed. Roughly speaking,

the boundary line between the two is formed by the Guaviare River, the southernmost east and west tributary of the Orinoco.

I have said that knowledge of these regions is scanty. Above all, beware of maps. Only a few of the more important watercourses have been in any way surveyed, and in the maze of guesswork to be found in the maps of Colombia published in books on that country (including this one) and in general atlases, there are serious errors, obvious upon the most cursory reading of the geographical literature of the region.

The northernmost subdivision, Casanare, lying between one tributary of the Orinoco, the Arauca, on the north, and another, the Meta, on the south, and between the frontier of Venezuela on the east and the Andes on the west, is fairly well known, although not accurately mapped, and to it it is that reference is generally made when the *llanos* (continuation of the Venezuela plains of like character first scientifically described by Humboldt) are spoken of, although the term also covers the lesser known plains of San Martin, to the south of the Meta. Of these, only the parts in proximity to the more settled slopes of the Andes, lying just east and south of Bogotá, are known.

Casanare is under the rule of a special governor or commissioner, called the *comisario*, in whom legislative as well as executive powers are vested, subject to the direct supervision of the national Executive. Such supervision can only be tardily exercised. The mail from Bogotá now goes to the headquarters of the *comisaria* at Arauca, via Orocué, and takes forty days or more : the nearest telegraph stations are Cúcuta, practicably inaccessible, and Pore, over 300 miles away. Arauca is a little town of 3,472 inhabitants, lying on the south shore of the river of the same name. The

opposite bank pertains to Venezuela. Here, also, is the national Custom-house, but the revenue returns are very scanty, insufficient to pay even the moderate expenses of the officials. This is not due entirely to the small volume of commerce, but to the fact also that two-thirds of the trade is contraband. The length of the frontier, some 450 miles, guarded only by a half-dozen revenue officers, and the proximity of Venezuelan trading-posts, make smuggling temptingly easy; wherever there is a Colombian village, there is also a Venezuelan settlement to match it, across the frontier, thriving on illicit trade, and placed there solely to be enabled to pass into Colombia with impunity merchandise already enhanced by high duties upon entering into Venezuela. In these Colombian towns, accordingly, there are many Venezuelans; commercial relations are chiefly with Venezuela, and Venezuelan money, not Colombian bills, generally circulates.

The only present-day importance of Casanare is on account of its cattle industry. According to Padre Delgado, there were in 1907 some 150 *hatos* or cattle ranches, some with as many as 15,000 to 20,000 head, others with not more than 300: he estimates the total number of cattle at not more than 250,000, and some 50,000 horses in addition. The number has since gradually increased. The animals for the most part are poor, lean stock. All is not plain sailing for the cattle breeder. There is an abundance of natural grazing lands, but the vaunted richness of the *llanos* proves to be much of a myth. Immense herds could undoubtedly be raised here, and in the course of generations, when cattle lands elsewhere in the world, as is already happening in parts of the United States and Argentina, become too valuable for grazing, the *llanos* will unquestionably become vast cattle ranges. But there are many present-day disadvantages.

BUILDING A RANCH HOUSE, GUENGUE.

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There is an almost total lack of roads ; such as exist are horrible, and can be traversed only with some danger ; the swamps and morasses, and especially the rivers, unbridged, furnish grave obstacles to land travel in the rainy season ; the rivers are really navigable only in the rainy season, and the distance to the ocean is discouraging. And then climatic conditions are adverse. For eight or nine months in the year there is such an over-abundance of rain that, in default of proper attention to the watercourses, the savannahs become swamped and the settlements menaced with ruin. On the other hand, the drought during the rest of the year is so intense that the smaller streams dry up and the parched grass affords insufficient sustenance for the live-stock. Of course, these adverse conditions are largely remediable, but the Government is at present powerless, and seems destined to remain so for years to come, to command resources sufficient to encompass the remedy. Private enterprise could do little more than dig artesian wells, which could serve for irrigation as well as supply badly needed drinking water, and thus cope with the worst evils of the dry season. Water, it is reported, can be found almost anywhere, even in the extreme drought, at a depth of only a few feet. The vaster measures, the proper attention to the watercourses, so as at once to limit the overflow in the time of freshets and by storage utilize for beneficial purposes the now maleficent floods, require an enormous capital expenditure. It seems scarcely likely that in the present stage of Colombia's development private interests, not even the richest " beef barons " of the world, will undertake the work. In a few sections of the *llanos*, however, there are undeniably favourable opportunities for foreign as well as native investment, on a comparatively large scale, in cattle ranches ; in addition to tracts that could be

purchased from private owners, there are many savannahs that are still *baldias*, or public lands. Possibly there might be a field, too, for packing-houses, in connection with a line of refrigerator steamers, for which, however, a new type would have to be devised. The investments should be on a large scale, because without considerable surplus capital available to overcome obstacles and to tide over the delays that seem inevitable in all Colombian enterprises, one would not be well advised to enter the field.

For agriculture the prospects are less favourable than for cattle breeding. J. M. Vargas Vergara, a Colombian authority on the eastern domains of his country, says :

" A deeply-rooted idea prevails among us that the *llano* is a privileged region which has no equal for exuberance and fertility of soil. . . . In my opinion there are no poorer lands nor any less suitable for agriculture in the whole Republic. Does not the fact that immense areas of land are endowed with no vegetation other than grasses and leguminous shrubs prove the soil to be thin and to contain little vegetable humus? Is this the vegetation of the valley of the Cauca, of the Magdalena, of the Caquetá? Where is the fertility of the *llanos*? I have seen the pasture insufficient even to breed cattle, and have seen them die for lack of nourishment. Not a single plant of those that man needs for his sustenance attracted my attention by its growth or by its yield. The *llano* is fertile only for him who knows it not."

Of course, there are exceptions, as the writer takes care to point out. The foot of the Cordillera, the *vegas* of the Guaviare, the highlands of the Ynirida (he is speaking also of the region to the south of the *llanos*), the banks of the Guainia and Rio Negro are suitable for agriculture : sugar-cane could

be raised, and there are good rice lands. At Arauquita, a village on the Arauca considerably further upstream than the town of Arauca and situated on the fringe of the rich forest of the little known but promising Sarare River section, the soil is exceedingly fertile, and its rice, cacao, sugar, maize, and plantains, besides rubber and resins from the nearby forests, furnish a trade of some little importance.

The same writer attributes the legend as to the richness of the *llanos* to the pleasing effect they produce upon the traveller, wearied with the hardships of mountain travel, when they first meet his awebound gaze. The striking impression conveyed is depicted by Professor Rothlisberger, in a well-known passage which I believe has not hitherto found its way into English print : [1]

[1] *El Dorado* (Bern, 1898, pp. 211, 212). The reader will pardon the frequent quotations in this chapter, but although I had extensive interests some years ago in large concessions in some parts of this region, I have never visited any of the places mentioned, and all my information is based on hearsay. Of recent writers, Burger and the scholarly prelate who writes so charmingly under the name of Dr. Mozans, have described the trip on the Meta, Father Delgado minutely surveys Casanare, Professor Bingham describes his route across the northern *llanos* from Arauca viâ Pore to Boyacá, Modesto Garcia and Santiago Perez Triana the voyage down the Vichada, Crevaux his travels on the Guaviare (which he attempted to name de Lesseps), the Caquetá, and the Putumayo, also described by Reyes, Simson, Rocha, Miguel Triana, and see the *Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica de Lima*, vol. xv. (1904), p. 60 (good map), and *Boletin del Ministro de Fomento* (*Lima*), 1903, p. 86 ; Dr. Koch-Grünberg supplies information as to many of the southern rivers, Montolieu as to the Ynirida (*Bull. de la Soc. de Geog.*, p. 289, 1880). Geographically important are Brisson's *Casanare*, the reports of the engineers of the Boundary Commission in Uribe's *Anales Diplomaticos*, vols. i. and ii., and Dr. Hamilton Rice's article on the Vaupes in the *Geog. Journal*, June, 1910 (for titles of the works mentioned above, see the Bibliography ; for Chaffangon's, Stradelli's, and other travels, see the Bibliography in Dalton's *Venezuela*) (South American Series). Valuable information is to be had from Vargas Vergara's articles in the *Boletin de Obras Publicas* (Bogotá, 1909), and in the reports published in the *Informe del Ministro de Gobierno* (Bogotá, 1912).

" How can I describe my astonishment and rapture as of a sudden I saw the boundless plains of the *llanos* spread out before me? It is difficult to form an idea of the immensity and grandeur of this panorama, which will ever remain indelibly engraven on the spectator's memory. We stand on the last outpost of the Cordillera, only 700 metres above the level of the sea, in a mighty virgin forest. To the right, streams gush out from mountain gorges to the plains. To the left, the Cordillera loses itself in the dim distant north, throwing out here and there a branch that seems in the blue distance like an outpost of a fortress. These are the mountains of Medina, separated from the main mass. Before us the *llanos* stretch out in a perfect semicircle of a radius of 30 leagues. No greater contrast can be imagined than that between the intricate massiveness of the Cordillera, rising to the region of perpetual snow, and this uniform tropical plain. Great and majestic in its solitude and mystery is the ocean ; greater and more impressive are the *llanos*. The ocean waves are rigid and dead, an image of Dread and of blind Might ; but the *llano*, strewn with variegated colours, is the image of Life—Life that preaches unto man not his puny impotence, but an awakening Hope, such as aroused the companions of Columbus when the magic cry rang out, ' Land ! land ! '

" The *llanos* are said to be monotonous ; not so, as seen from this place. Countless rivers cut slowly through the plains, like silver ribbons unwinding in the distance. These streams are all fringed with dense virgin forest, so that three intermingled colours strew the landscape—the silver-grey of the waters, the lush green-grey of the pastures, heightened in colour during the fertile rainy season, and the flecks of forest, dark shadows diversifying the predominant green. . . ."

A few regions of Casanare, but very few, are hindered in their development by occasional outbreaks of heathen Indians, but the number of these throughout the territory appears to have been exaggeratedly reported. Father Delgado states that the number of infidels approximates only 2,000, a mere handful when the vast extent of territory through which they are dispersed is considered. The civilized population is about 16,000 to 20,000, gathered for the most part in or around a dozen villages. The old type *llanero*, half Spanish, half Indian, the wild, brave, restless, devil-may-care cowboy, a "Cossack of the Colombian Steppes" and a boastful Tartarin full of poetic fire, rolled into one, is rapidly disappearing. Vanished is the poetry and romance of his life, if it ever really existed outside of his remarkable *cantos*, wherein heroic exploits, as soldier, as hunter, and as gallant lover, are recounted with a superb hyperbole. He seems to have tamed down completely, in spite of the solitary, open-air life, and in spite of the continuance of a certain element of danger, battling with the elements—encounters with jaguars, reptiles, and savage Indians are, however, in fact, the rarest of episodes in the life of even the most daring and exposed *llanero*.

"The great fact that does impress one," writes Professor Bingham,[1] "is the general shiftlessness and carelessness of the common people. They seem to be contented with less than any civilized people I have ever seen. Their food is wretched and infrequent, their houses are extremely dirty, they are constantly tormented by noxious insects, everything that they can buy is expensive, there is little evidence of a beneficent Government, titles to property seem to be insecure, and yet with it all they rarely com-

[1] Pp. 113, 115, *Journal of an Expedition Across Venezuela and Colombia* (New Haven, Conn., and London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1909).

plain. They seem to be without ambition." "The *llanero* or cowboy is rather wild, restless, and shiftless, not caring to work except on horseback. The *peon* seems to be a much more valuable citizen. But it is very difficult to draw any distinct lines, and there seem to be few definite types . . . the children are naked or scantily clad, and most of them have enlarged spleens and other malarial symptoms."

Malarial fevers are everywhere prevalent, as might be expected where there are so many swamps. Besides, the natives use stagnant water, often unspeakably bad, uncontaminated rivers being often at a great distance, and their wells, uncovered and unprotected, are other breeding-grounds of disease. The heat, however, is tempered by the constant winds, often rising, particularly at the beginning of the rains, to the violence of destructive hurricanes.

The Meta, the principal river of the *llanos*, is infrequently navigated at high water by small steamers from Ciudad Bolivar (Venezuela) to Orocué, a point near the Andes, some 300 miles from the Orinoco and about 1,000 miles from the Atlantic. The Custom-house here is very like that at Arauca, the expenses of administration not being covered by the duties collected. Boats occasionally ascend higher upstream to the little village of Barrigon, which is only two days' ride from Villavicencio, at the foot of the Cordillera. Villavicencio, the capital of the Meta territory, is at a distance of only 21 leagues from Bogotá, usually covered on horse in two or two and a half days. Orocué exports hides, a little coffee brought down from the eastern slope of the Andes, some odds and ends of rubber and other forest products, and plumes from the *garza*, the graceful Colombian heron that is being rapidly exterminated to gratify the vanity of womenfolk.

The Orinoco forms the boundary of Colombia

VAQUERO, OR COWBOY.

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from its junction with the Meta south for a distance of 230 miles, but its navigation is interrupted by the rapids of Atures and Maipures, which furnished the theme for brilliant passages, now classic, in Humboldt's narrative of his equinoctial voyages. Just below the rapids the main stream receives the waters of the Vichada, a river which appears never yet to have been entered by a steamer or launch, and is wholly unsettled except by a few Indian tribes. The Vichada supplies a large share of the *yucca* that forms the chief food of the upper Orinoco region. This starchy plant (also called *manihot*) is of two varieties, the bitter and the sweet ; the former, curiously enough, is poisonous, but from it is made, extracting the poison, the *mañoco* and *cassava* (known also in the West Indies and the Guianas), the main articles in the scanty diet, sometimes verging on famine-rations, of the region.

South of the Vichada is the Guaviare, which, with the affluents Ynirida and Atabapo near its mouth, is the last, or rather the first, great tributary of the Orinoco. Here we enter the great forest belt, the heart of South America, watered by the Amazon system, with which, through its strange piracy from the Rio Negro of the waters of the Casiquiare, the Orinoco is connected.

Of the Amazon rivers, four in Colombia are worthy of special mention, the Rio Negro, called the Guainia in the upper part of its course, its tributary the Vaupes (spelled also Waupes), the Caquetá, and the now notorious Putumayo. The tide of initial exploration of this region has but recently begun, coincident with the development of the rubber industry, which, in lieu of furnishing a factor of civilization, has afforded scope for displays of primal barbarism on the part of whites against the less civilized but certainly less savage Indians.

The Guaviare (still of the Orinco system, but

during flood-time interlaced by connecting swamps and overflows with the Amazon streams) is formed by the union of the Ariari with the Guayabero. None of the three is really navigable ; in the dry season even canoes are stranded several times a day, and in the rainy season there are difficulties. The Ariari is connected with Villavicencio by a *trocha*, a rough foot trail most of the way ; six days' canoeing down the Ariari is required before reaching the Guayabero ; one day more brings one to San José, a group of twenty houses, where a fair trade in rubber is carried on. There is also a kind of a road over which cattle can be driven from San Martin, the last outpost of civilization on the *llanos*, to San José. Although the distance in a bee-line is only about 35 leagues, the road, following all the turns of the ridge of the watershed hill, is about 45 leagues in length ; its character can be judged by the fact that fifteen days' march is required to travel it. This road goes through a well-endowed, rich, fertile, and beautiful region, with a healthful climate, dry and relatively cool (average 80°), where extensive cattle ranches could be established to better advantage than on the *llanos*, but in its whole extent there is not a habitation nor a human being—the beasts exercise complete dominion. The main axis of this series of hills—the direction of the branches is unknown—falls to the River Ariari at its confluence with the Guayabero, the right bank of which it coasts for a long distance and then follows in the same direction, passing Puerto Cana on the Itilla : thereafter its direction is unknown. The geological formation of these hills and the known outcroppings of others, probably allied, to the south and south-east, is older than that of the Eastern Cordillera of the Andes ; they probably constitute the remains of the north-western part of the old *plano alto*, which, in remote geological times,

when the Amazon before its reversal flowed into an East Andean sea, was the predominant feature of the topography of South America.[1]

From San José, a *trocha* of 16 leagues through the virgin forest, traversable only on foot, and usually taking four or five days, leads to Calamar, a port on the River Unilla, and the rubber centre of the region. The ground here is level and crossed by an infinity of brooks that during the dry season, which lasts only three months, dry up completely. It is at this epoch that the rubber-gatherers come out of the *montaña* with the rubber they have collected, fleeing to escape thirst. The "winter" or rainy season lasts from April to November without interruption—the rivers rise incredibly, inundating three-fourths of the region, which is consequently extremely unhealthy, with very sudden changes of temperature, dropping from 100° in the daytime to 72° at night. There are, in addition to the heathen Indians of the vicinity, about 400 rubber-gatherers or *caucheros* who make Calamar their headquarters. These are nearly all Tolimenses who have migrated from the Caguan (a tributary of the Caquetá), which they abandoned after exhausting the black rubber there: they are like a devastating horde, destroying the trees as they advance onwards to the Rio Negro: it is believed that the rubber in these regions will not last them five years more. It is only the black rubber, *caucho negro*, that they exploit, and this they do by cutting down the tree, which then yields 25 to 75 pounds of rubber. The elsewhere more prized hevea or siringa, the Para rubber, and balata, a kind of guttapercha, are found as isolated trees, one to the acre or less, throughout the region, but these, which they could only exploit by the slow

[1] See "Some Factors of Geographical Distribution in South America," by John D. Haseman (*Annals of the New York Academy of Science*, 1912, vol. xxii., 9–112).

process of tapping, they do not touch. These *caucheros*, not 5 per cent. of whom can read or write, are hardy workers and energetic, withal orderly and submissive to the authorities, but usually heavily indebted to the traders.

The Unilla (in many maps it is erroneously attributed to the Guaviare) forms, with the Itilla, the Vaupes River, which was first mapped in 1907 by Dr. Hamilton Rice. Since then rubber exploitation and the incident commercial development have been going on apace. Along the Vaupes and the nearby Apoporis (chief tributary of the Caquetá) are many well-organized rubber enterprises: the settlers "own" enormous areas of forest, which they exploit, and some have at their command numerous tribes of intelligent, robust, and industrious Indians, and are accordingly enabled thereby to get the rubber that can only be secured by bleeding, the Para, balata, and other varieties. The Indians in this section, in contrast to that controlled or menaced by the Peruvians to the south, appear to be well treated. The trade of this region is entirely viâ the Rio Negro to Manaos on the Amazon; the annual production of rubber is about 125,000 pounds, in exchange for which large quantities of merchandise and fire-arms are imported from Brazil. The land of the Vaupes territory is of fair quality; some little agriculture is being developed; the climate is far from being as bad as the generality of the Amazon belt; the temperature is more uniform, and the river is "black water."

In this unending tropic wilderness it is of prime importance whether the river waters be "aguas negras" or "aguas claras." The former, even when swollen by the rains, appear almost black when seen in mass, and they coincide with or cause an absence of mosquitoes and generally a more healthful locality; their waters, free from alligators and the

bloodthirsty little cannibal fish, the *caribe*, contain less organic matter and are purer. Many theories have been advanced as to the cause of the phenomenon of "black" water. In Vargas Vergara's opinion, the colour is due to some special plant which tints the water and is not decomposed owing to the absence of certain mineral salts which, when present, immediately destroy the colouration ; among the natives the general opinion is that this plant is the sarsaparilla.

From the Itilla (headstream of the Vaupes), communication is had by *trochas* with the banks of the Macaya, which, uniting with the Ajaju at a point called Corinto, forms the Apoporis, a river of great width and depth in the rainy season, but six *chorros* or cascades before it empties into the Caquetá prevent navigation. The Ajaju was recently explored by the *comisario* of the Vaupes territory ; going up it for four days, he reports it to be a beautiful river, totally different from the others of the region, flowing in majestic curves at which appear enormous and fantastic cliffs standing out like ruins of feudal castles. The most promising of the regions in this vicinity, however, is that of the Mesaya River, where broad savannahs and high ground appear to offer exceptional advantages for settlers, and where, accordingly, the Government is now planning to found an agricultural colony.

Following the Apoporis downstream, we reach the Caquetá River, a direct and important tributary of the Amazon, into which it flows in Brazilian territory. Such little geographical knowledge of the stream and of its twin brother, the Putumayo, to the south, as the Spanish missionaries and some Pasto traders before 1830 had possessed had been lost, until 1876, when an intrepid young Colombian, seeking a cheaper outlet for the cinchona bark which his firm was then collecting on the slopes of the

Andes near Pasto, boldly launched his canoe on the waters of the Putumayo and floated downstream for more than a thousand miles, braving unknown terrors, till at length he attained the giant Amazon. This was Rafael Reyes, later President of Colombia. He followed up his exploit by establishing steam navigation on the Putumayo, of which, in the following year, Crevaux, the daring French explorer, took advantage, ascending and roughly mapping the Putumayo ; thence, crossing the short intervening land, he descended by the Caquetá, being the first white man since the Spanish days to traverse its entire length, and enriching geographical literature by a most interesting narrative of his journey.

With the decline of the *quina* trade, the Caquetá and Putumayo were again completely abandoned, until a few years ago the advancing prices of rubber once again drew commercial adventurers to their shores. The numerous tribes of dreaded Indians who roamed the unknown forests were subjugated, in the manner of the *conquistadores* of yore, by bare handfuls of men. On the Putumayo and its tributaries, a single firm of Peruvians later gained control of the situation, ruthlessly seized the fruits of the first painful steps and arduous labours of the Colombian conquerors (upon whom, however, little sympathy need be wasted), and then, in lust of the black gold, rubber, began enslaving, pillaging, torturing, and massacring their poor victims, until at last belated reports, confirmed by Sir Roger Casement's revelations, horrified the civilized world and aroused a widespread indignation, now lulled by the joint action of Great Britain and the United States sending Consuls to further investigate, and receiving the promise of Peru to punish the perpetrators of the atrocities. It is more than doubtful whether the real culprits, the men " higher up," will ever receive their deserts. One vital point seems to have been

almost ignored in all European and North American newspaper discussion of the atrocities, and that is, that the region in question lies within the "twilight zone," where contending boundaries overlap, and where jurisdiction is claimed by disputing nations, but can be effectively exercised by none without precipitating a war.[1]

The victims have not remained entirely passive. Both here and on the Caquetá vengeance is occasionally wreaked by the despoiled and wronged Indians against their "white" oppressors, many of whom have paid with their lives the attempt to implant slavery anew. The Indian works by force only, and the whites are consequently obliged to be constantly in a state of military tension and alertness. "If, for a single night, guard were not kept in any of the sections I know," writes the *comisario* of the lower Caquetá, in a recent report, "and the firearms were carelessly left within reach of the natives, in a few hours not a single white would be left in those regions." Catholic missionaries alone seem able to cope with the problem of reducing to civilization, or even to peaceful relations, tribes that have once been aroused to hostility against the whites.

With the missionaries serving as an advance-guard, the interesting question arises, What commercial development, if any, can be looked for in this region? But first, let us see the present state of trade.

The Putumayo is easily navigable in its lower course at all seasons, and in its upper to very near the Andes. The proximity of its headwaters to Pasto furnishes the opportunity for a slight trade with that city, but practically all its rubber goes out through the Amazon, and its goods come in by the same route. As for the Caquetá River, there is an

[1] See the author's article in the *Evening Post* (N.Y.), August 28, 1912. And see *The Times' South African Supplement*, April 29, 1913, which has appeared since this volume went to press.

enormous difference in the volume of its water at the dry season and at the rainy season, and it happens that it is in the dry season that steamers are most needed for the rubber trade. At best, the Caquetá is not yet a useful highway. In the Brazilian part its channel is only just beginning to be known ; in the Colombian part pilots will have to be trained, soundings made, and other difficulties learned and overcome before regular navigation can be undertaken in safety. Moreover, the Araracuara Rapids (there is a fearful picture in Crevaux's book showing his frail canoe dashing down some falls at an angle of forty-five degrees between rocky walls) divide the navigation of the river into two parts. The lower river necessarily trades, therefore, with Brazil : the Colombian frontier is twenty days' steaming from Manaos. The colonists of the upper river and its branches, on the other hand, there being no near prospect whatever of getting by the rapids, must necessarily cultivate commercial relations with the Colombian Departments of Huila and Nariño. There is a trail from Pasto to Mocoa, an old-established town long used as a penal settlement, 20 miles distant from the Putumayo, and separated from the Caquetá by a low line of hills. A new mule-road, on which the Government has been doing excellent work of late, 55 miles long, from Guadalupe, in the southern part of Huila, crosses the divide of the Eastern Cordillera to Florencia, near the Orteguasa branch of the Caquetá, the last hamlet before entering the *selvas*. The Government has also been extending other means of communication ; the telegraph has just been established to Sibundoy.

Mr. Leo E. Miller, of the American Museum of Natural History, writes :

"Florencia is a small town, with a few hundred inhabitants, but growing rapidly. Altitude 675 feet. The whole Department of the Caquitá contains but two thousand souls, according to the alcalde

SO-CALLED STALAGMITES, ANGOSTURA, CARNICERIAS.

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of Florencia, not including Indians. Provisions can be had at Florencia, but prices of everything but meat and corn *very* high.

"Our first work was done a short distance above the town, at an elevation of 1,000 feet, at the ranch of one Don Blas. . . . The clearing was the largest I had seen in this locality, there being pasture, platanal, cacao, and corn. In this open country birds were abundant. The surrounding forest was comparatively open, and not far away. From the elevated position one has a good view of the Caquetá, a perfect ocean of forest stretching out ahead as far as the eye can see, which on clear days is many miles. The sight is most impressive. There is not a single rise visible and the forest is of uniform height.

"The forest is comparatively open, that is, free from dense undergrowth. Trees tall, few tree-ferns: many climbing lilies and also many palms. Not much moss. Along the streams there is much bamboo and also wild cane, often mixed with dense clumps of creepers, tall grass, and thorny bushes. In places there are small clumps, perhaps a few acres in extent, of dense low trees resembling 'cecropas' and called 'restrojo.' Streams and rivers are numerous, and one is at once impressed with their large size and depth. Also, while swift, they are so silent that one may be near a large river and not know its presence until at the very edge.

"Clouds hang low, often descending to the ground, especially in the early morning and late night, causing a dense fog.

"We happened to strike the country in the height of the rainy season: but there were frequently intervals of three bright days with not a drop of rain. On the other days the showers, which were heavy, were confined to the early morning, the afternoon after 4 p.m., and night. It rarely rained all day long. About 4 p.m. a cool wind invariably sprang up. At noon the heat was rather intense, but not nearly so great as in the Magdalena Valley (as I now discover) below Neiva. The nights were cold, so that two blankets were none too many. The expedition was without a thermometer, so no observations as to temperatures could be made. It is said that during the dry season (December, January, and February) the heat is terrific and there is much fever owing to the clouds of mosquitoes that emerge from the pools left by the receding water."

Colombia claims a part of the Napo River, and also claims to bound on the Amazon itself for a distance of 600 miles, but in these regions, to the south of the Putumayo, she has never had commercial relations, nor thither dispatched colonists, nor ever

been able either to exercise or even to attempt effective jurisdiction. On the other hand, adverse claims to the Putumayo and the Caquetá are raised against her.

Confining ourselves specifically to the region north of the Putumayo (and even that hardly seems worth fighting for from the present-day standpoint, except that the nation's honour is involved in maintaining the nation's territorial integrity), what future has it?

The question is part of the larger one which Mr. Bryce discusses in his recent work on South America,[1] "Can these Amazonian *selvas*, which form the largest unoccupied fertile space on the earth's surface, be reclaimed for the service of man?

"This question is not a practical one for our generation, and I mention it only because it raises an interesting problem, the solution of which will one day be attempted, since so vast and so fertile an area cannot be left for ever useless."

One must agree with Mr. Bryce that the nation, not being great or wealthy, cannot attempt the thing itself on a large scale, and that it is doubtful whether capitalists from other countries will embark on such an enterprise, which could hardly be carried out except by the aid of a Government. But I think Mr. Bryce is inclined to exaggerate the difficulties when he writes: "If attempted at all, it must be on a large scale, for such gradual colonization by settlers coming in small groups, as would be the natural process in the temperate regions, is scarcely possible in a country where man has so powerful a nature to overcome." It is a little obscure whether Mr. Bryce is referring to the colonization of the whole *selva* region, or simply to the reclamation of the lower lands along the banks of the rivers. Certainly, as far as the Colombian *selvas* are concerned,

[1] P. 560, *seq.*

there is considerable land that escapes inundation and that would be suitable for tropical agriculture ; other forest products besides rubber could and probably will be exploited, with increased navigation facilities. The construction of the Panama Canal has taught us for all time that far worse pest-holes in the tropics than the Caquetá territory can be sanitated and made habitable for the white man. Even without resources approaching those at the command of Dr. Gorgas and his colleagues, and on a small scale, provided a fair degree of intelligence be exercised, malaria can be held in check. With malaria held in check, man would be well able to cope with the power of Nature. It is doubtful whether the heat, the long rainy season, and the over-exuberance of vegetation are any more powerful natural obstacles than the rigours of a North-west winter.

No striking advance, no stupendous development of the kind occasionally predicted in the fantasies of some Colombian prophets, need be looked forward to by this or the coming generation. No very large undertakings are likely for some time to come to spring up in the Caquetá, but as enterprising men will ever be lured on by the great rewards that meet great exertions, one can look to see a gradual development, slow, it is true, but progressive, by just such colonization by settlers from adjacent parts of Colombia, and occasional foreigners, as Mr. Bryce deems " scarcely possible."

CHAPTER XVI

EDUCATION AND THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE

WE have seen how little material progress Colombia has made, how undeveloped is her natural wealth, how trackless her wildernesses, how unbridged and unrailroaded her territory, how untilled her fertile fields. But a nation's poverty may be pardoned her, if it be the ascetic poverty that goes with an intense devotion to things of the intellect or things of the soul. Can Colombia plead in extenuation at the bar of the world that, withal her land be much as Nature left it, she has not neglected the higher realms?

She can—and she cannot. A small intellectual coterie, an *élite*, has marched with the vanguard of the arts and letters of the modern Spanish world, but, alas! at the expense or to the neglect of the masses. It is said that 70 per cent. of Colombia's population is illiterate, can neither read nor write. Education! We might almost be justified in brushing the word angrily aside, saying, "Education! there is no education in Colombia." But after years of dire abandonment there are increasing evidences that the nation is now, in fact, awakening to her educational needs, not merely vaguely generalizing about them with sonorous phrases. Tangible evidence is furnished by the increase in the number of educational institutions and in the number of pupils, increased appropriations, and practical proposals for pension funds for teachers. The teacher's salaries,

though still pitiably small, are at least being paid regularly. It is of little value to examine the old statistics or figures that serve as such. The public or common school system, which began to develop in the seventies, later received a serious set-back, partly because of revolutions, partly because of political hostilities, and is only now again coming to the front. The comparative statistics for 1911 and 1912 show a great stride forward : [1]

	1911.	1912.	Increase.
Number of Educational Institutions of every kind (public and private)	4,070	4,371	301
Number of Students	245,839	272,873	27,034

Under the Constitution, attendance on the public schools is gratuitous, but not obligatory. The public schools throughout the country, and to a limited extent private and clerical institutions which receive aid from the Government, are under the supreme direction and inspection of the Minister of Public Instruction, one of the Cabinet officers. In each department there is a Director-General of Public Instruction under his direct supervision. Primary instruction, however, appertains to the departments and municipalities, which have to supply the buildings and furniture and pay the salaries of the teachers, while the National Government provides the text-books, supplies, and appliances. Appropriations by the departments and municipalities are comparatively generous only in Antioquia, Caldas, and Valle, which form a notable exception to the rest of the country : in these three, save in remoter isolated regions, practically all the children are now going to the elementary schools, and at least learning to read and write. Were this the case throughout the country, one might

[1] The figures given for 1907 were 382,683 students, but they are of doubtful reliability.

be well content for the time being, as it would be asking too much, in view of the general lack of means, to expect any very high order of instruction, any modernized methods or up-to-date apparatus—anything more than a teacher and a place wherein to teach. School equipment is generally insufficient and defective ; the unsanitary slate, for instance, is still in use, without apparently a thought of abolishing it. The elements of hygiene, which more than anything need to be drilled into the Colombian proletariat, are not taught even by example—the same unhygienic conditions are allowed to prevail in the schoolhouses as outside of them, in spite of an elaborate sanitary code for schools.

Point one to be taken into account in considering the intellectual life of Colombia : the clergy largely dominate the educational system. The fundamental law provides " Public education shall be organized and directed in concordance with the Catholic religion." However much complete separation of Church and State might be desirable under other conditions, in the existing state of affairs the co-operation of the Church in matters educational seems essential. The missionaries alone can properly undertake instruction both among the savage Indians and those peaceful and civilized tribes like the Paez of Tierra Adentro in the Cauca,[1] who have not yet been completely Hispanicized, and the financial support by the Government of the missions is amply justified. Even the most ardent enemies of the religious orders must admit that they are doing good work, with a rare degree of self-sacrifice and abnegation, in establishing and maintaining schools among the heathen. For this, they have devised an admir-

[1] For interesting studies of this race and their region, see H. Pittier de Fabrega : *Ethnographic and Linguistic Notes on the Paez Indians* (Lancaster, Pa., 1907), and E. Bizot in *Revista del Ministerio de Obras Publicas*, November, 1909, p. 817.

RURAL SCHOOL.

A FAVOURITE PASTIME.

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able system of *orfelinatos*, as in the Goajiro, where they take young children as *internes* and train them for a civilized life.

Side by side with the public schools in the larger towns flourish parochial schools taught by priests and nuns and a few private schools. It is to these, though their general level is little, if any, better than the public schools, that the well-to-do classes preferentially send their children. The attendance is small in comparison with the public schools. The detailed statistics for 1912 of the primary schools are as follows :

Department.	Number of Schools.	Number of Pupils.	Percentage of the Total Population.
Antioquia	649	54,263	7·31
Atlantico	67	4,273	3·71
Bolivar	208	11,871	2·77
Boyacá	346	17,577	2·95
Caldas	248	24,556	7·59
Cauca	138	9,382	4·43
Cundinamarca	563	27,027	3·75
Huila	124	7,589	4·77
Magdalena	104	4,614	3·61
Nariño	176	15,103	5·33
Norte de Santander	153	10,566	5·16
Santander	389	14,614	3·65
Tolima	206	9,062	3·19
Valle	225	18,915	8·16
	3,656	229,422	
Private schools	354	13,584	
	4,010	243,006	5·15[1]

The primary schools are, of course, a heavy drain on the financial resources of the local governments. The appropriations of the departments in 1912 for

[1] In the United States, 19·62 per cent. of the population is enrolled in the schools (1908).

educational objects in comparison with their total appropriations for all branches of the public service are shown by the following table, which also gives the total appropriations of the municipalities for education (1912):

Departments.	Total Appropriations.	School Budget.	Percentage of Total Budget.	School Budgets of Municipalities.
	Dollars.	Dollars.		Dollars.
Antioquia	1,455,763	433,320	29·77	83,610.54
Atlantico	217,560	33,830	15·54	16,072.00
Bolivar	548,728	191,218	34·84	—
Boyacá	640,331	113,285	17·69	67,602.20
Caldas	466,312	132,764	28·47	30,359.20
Cauca	155,295	41,312	26·60	16,053.74
Cundinamarca ...	766,950	136,612	17·58	104,850.34
Huila	152,400	41,020	26·97	—
Magdalena	195,194	39,210	20·08	—
Nariño	738,325[1]	226,742[1]	30·71	13,972.80
Norte de Santander	218,340	61,464	28·15	28,855.21
Santander	429,664	122,594	28·55	40,822.93
Tolima	395,843	82,764	20·90	22,961.65
Valle	607,804	153,483	25·23	30,167.70

The secondary schools, called *colegios*, both public and private, are generally well housed but are insufficient in number and often too small to admit all who apply. They are found, as a rule, only in the larger or the older towns. There are 229 of these high schools, many of which characteristically bear the names of saints—San Simon, Santa Librada, San Pedro Claver, etc. The total attendance is 18,802. The largest are those of San Bartolomé and the School of Commerce, in Bogotá, each with over 600 students.

How are the teachers taught? is always perhaps the most interesting question in any school system. The incumbents of posts in the high schools are usually graduates of the universities or theological semin-

[1] Silver.

aries. The primary school teachers are graduated from the normal schools, of which there are 9 for males and 12 for females throughout the country, with a total attendance of 1,184 pupils. They are run at a cost of only $176,732 per annum. The conclusion is obvious. The course of instruction is five years, comprising Religion and Sacred History, Spanish, Reading, Arithmetic, Geometry, Writing, Drawing, Music, two years of French, two years of English, Rhetoric, Pedagogy, Bookkeeping, Algebra, History, and only in the fourth and fifth years a smattering of the Natural Sciences (physics, zoology, botany, physiology and hygiene, mineralogy), attempted to be taught without laboratories or appliances. The curriculum for males and females is practically the same, the women getting a little embroidery and domestic economy.

The university education, meagre and unsatisfactory as it is in some directions, is head and shoulders superior to the school education, and its real excellence along favoured lines enables us to understand the surprising degree of literary culture to be found in the upper strata of life in Colombia.

The institutions of higher learning are the National University at Bogotá, the departmental universities at Cartagena, Medellin, Popayan, and Pasto, the school of mines at Medellin, the great sanctuary of classical learning, the College of Nuestra Señora del Rosario at Bogotá, founded in 1654 for the teaching of theology and medicine (now dropped), jurisprudence and the religious philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas, in which tradition it has consistently followed. The departmental universities are somewhat rudimentary, the largest being that at Cartagena with 243 students in three faculties—law, medicine, and philosophy. At the university of the Cauca, a historic institution in Popayan, an attempt has recently been made to start an agricultural

school, a French professor being appointed to the faculty, but only a handful of pupils have enrolled. The chief reason for the slight importance of the departmental institutions is the preponderating desirability, both from its cultural superiority and as opening an avenue to political preferment later in life, of the National University at the capital, to which students from all departments are attracted. At this institution there are [1] 536 students, 232 attending the law school, 202 the medical school, 58 the school of mathematics and engineering, and 44 the dental school. Not more than 25 or 30 per cent., however, complete their studies, but the attendance is rapidly increasing; in 1906, for instance, there were only 77 students in the law school.

To complete our view of Colombian higher education, we must mention the art school and the Conservatory of Music of Bogotá, both of which, due to the national bent for art and music, do remarkably good work considering the scanty resources they command.

It will be observed from this summary that the natural sciences are left entirely out of account in the education of Colombia; barring certain courses necessarily given in the schools of medicine and engineering, the study of natural phenomena is totally neglected; nowhere can courses of pure science be pursued. This neglect of the sciences in favour of the humanities in early life, with its natural consequences in adult years, is point number two to be borne in mind in considering the intellectual movement in Colombia. Since the early days of Mutis, Caldas, Zea, and their companions, Colombia has had but few scientists who have pursued original researches or whose names even have travelled outside their own land: perhaps the only two are Triana, an eminent and useful botanist, who rescued

[1] 1912.

Mutis's work from rotting in Madrid, and Ezequiel Uricoechea, a Yale graduate, who distinguished himself by his work as a linguist and archæologist. As a true scientist, too, and a painstaking and noble one, though not in the field of the natural sciences, we must place José Rufino Cuervo, who died last year in Paris, a most learned investigator whose researches into the history of the Spanish language and literature and his practical work as a lexicographer place him in the front rank of philologists. It is significant, however, that these three men lived and did their best work abroad. There are Colombians to-day who have done and are doing good work in their own country, in botany, in geology, in archæology, men like Santiago Cortes, Tulio Ospina, Carlos Cuervo Marquez, Ernesto Restrepo Tirado, and others, but they are a mere handful, and it must be confessed that the intellectual atmosphere is not stimulating to original scientific researches. It is a fact that for any high order of scientific education students must go abroad ; of necessity, few could stand the expense, and of the few, still fewer will have the strength of character to withstand the temptations incident to youth and luring them away from serious studies. But practically none are tempted to go to foreign countries for scientific studies (except in the limited fields of medicine and engineering), for the simple reason that if they returned to their native country they would find little scope for their attainments. And so the vicious circle is completed.

Another defect, or, more properly speaking, another phase of the general neglect of scientific studies, is the absence of agricultural colleges, so very essential in an agricultural country, and the paucity of manual training and technical schools.[1] The Colom-

[1] The only manual training schools of any importance are two in Bogotá, run by the Christian Brothers and the Salesian Fathers, and one in Medellin.

bian native is not deficient in natural mechanical abilities ; when "caught young," he readily learns to handle machinery, and many of the Indians possess a hereditary aptitude for some rather difficult industries—weaving, hat-making, wood-carving, and even bridge-building. But they need to be taught new methods in the arts and crafts, and they are not.

The law and medical faculties of the National University undoubtedly represent the cream of education in Colombia. In an early chapter I had occasion to remark upon the aptitude of the Colombian for the law. He seems to take less kindly to medicine. Nevertheless, being a somewhat less competitive and consequently a more lucrative profession for the generality, medicine attracts, as the figures already quoted show, almost as many students as the law. The six years' course in Bogotá (I am unable to speak of the other schools, and perhaps it is just as well) appears, as far as a layman can judge, to be thorough, and to furnish opportunities for considerable clinical experience in the hospitals under professors who are practitioners of good reputation and marked ability. The annexe hospitals, however, as the doctors themselves are the first to point out, need improvement. One trouble with the school, and that is the fault of the Government regulations and not of the faculty, which is not autonomous, is that the students have not received a sufficient preparatory education prior to entering the school. The institution is poorly endowed, and it is only as good as it is because of the unselfish devotion of its professors, who, busy practitioners all, receive the princely salaries of $25 and $45 a month from the University !

In one respect the training in the medical schools seems decidedly at fault, judged by its results as observed in the rural districts. There is no training in professional ethics. Good doctors are to be found

only in the largest towns. The small country town is either without a practitioner or too often cursed with a bad one. The country practitioner not only seems to recognize no obligations of social service, not only is not a leader in the crusade which the community should undertake for better hygienic conditions and the prevention of disease, but he will often add to a stupid carelessness an indifference to the calls of humanity in individual cases, neglecting the poor, and even when summoned by the rich, he will tarry for hours in his own pursuits instead of hastening to the cries of agony. Such a state of affairs reacts to the detriment of the profession and of the country in ways that are perhaps not realized. The respect which the community should have for the doctor is diminished, and it is especially in tropical countries that the influence of the medical profession should be preponderating; it is to that profession that the first steps of progress must be confided; it is the doctor, not the lawyer or the priest, who must be the salvation of the country. Again, there is perhaps no greater deterrent to the better class immigrant in this twentieth century than the fear, not of tropical disease, but of the lack of proper medical attention for himself, his wife, and his children.

Of far more influence, actually, on both the general and the intellectual life of the community, is the journalist. His name is legion. Our narration has so far been tinged with sadness in the contemplation of lost opportunities; with the journalist we approach the portals of Colombia's one great temple —the temple of literature—at whose shrine we can render the sincerest tribute.

Colombia's periodicals are scarcely *news*papers; they are for the most part ephemeral, dependent on the personality of a single man, and published for the expression merely of his political views. Few

in the country have had an existence of a score of years, or even of a decade ; only one or two represent any considerable financial investment. The typical newspaper, poorly printed and on bad paper, will consist of four pages, of which two are for advertising, including legal notices ; there will be a long political editorial, a column or a column and a half of foreign cable news furnished by the Government, some telegrams, which everybody in town has already seen, two or three columns devoted to the ventilation of some correspondent's personal grievances, a column of local scraps, and a half a column of poetry. From a purely news standpoint, the best daily in the country is *El Nuevo Tiempo*, of Bogotá, which contains many valuable articles and does give a general idea of the state of the country, besides publishing a weekly literary supplement of a high order of merit. The other Bogotá papers, though excellently written for the most part, are of too decidedly political a cast to be really ranked as newspapers. Of these, *El Liberal*, the organ of the Liberal party and edited by its leader, General Rafael Uribe-Uribe, may be taken as the best.

Besides the general absence of news, two defects chiefly characterize Colombian periodicals—an unseemly violence in their antipathies, based on political opinions, and, where political prejudices do not cloud vision, a somewhat indiscriminating and complacent praise and lavish overflow of compliments for commonplace achievements. On the other hand, the main merit is the excellence of literary composition. Though substance may be sometimes lacking, style is not—a certain literary finish, a piquancy, charm, force, and vigour of expression are to be had. It is impossible to draw the line where journalism ends and literature begins. Colombia's men of letters have nearly all been journalists ; much of their literary work has appeared in the newspapers,

or in the weekly or monthly reviews which from time to time see the light. Many of the reviews have attained high literary standards: notable among them have been *El Semanario*, conducted by the ardent scientist, Caldas, just prior to the Independence, and *El Papel Periodico Ilustrado* and *El Repertorio Colombiano*, which ran for a few years in the eighties. Several learned societies now publish monthlies or occasional periodicals of value, notably those of the Academy of Jurisprudence, the Agricultural Society, the medical, engineering, and dental bulletins, and, perhaps ranking highest, the *Boletin de Historia é Antiguedades*.

To do complete justice to the excellence of Colombian literature, as it has shown itself in the past century, is impossible in a limited space, and, moreover, would require more competent hands than the present writer's, especially as there is no collected history of it, or other guide, extant.[1] The fact that the limitations of space or of my own knowledge permit me to mention only a few writers is no disparagement to others.

Although printing-presses were of late introduction into New Granada,[2] even the Spanish colonial epoch was not without some literary light. A diligent investigator, José Maria Vergara, painstakingly collated the history of the literary activities of colonial days in an interesting volume,[3] which shows conclusively that the "dark ages" of the colonial period were not as black as they have been represented. The great conqueror, Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada, was himself a writer, and in the leisure days of his old age wrote the history of his conquests,

[1] Vergara's *Historia de la literatura en Colombia* is devoted almost exclusively to colonial times.

[2] See José Toribio Medina's *La Imprenta en Bogotá* and *La Imprenta en Cartagena* (Santiago, Chile, 1904).

[3] *Op. cit.*

but the manuscript, although made use of by subsequent writers and so partially filtering down to us, has been lost. Other chroniclers and historians there were whom fate treated better ; of them, the pious Bishop Piedrahita, partially of Inca descent, occupies the front rank. At the dawn of the revolution a veritable literary and scientific renaissance took place ; Nariño was the leader of a brilliant circle, and Zea was his most accomplished associate and fellow-sufferer ; Caldas, the scientist, not only himself displayed literary ability in presenting his scientific investigations and setting forth knowledge of the country in his periodical *El Semanario*, but inspired numerous others.

It is not along scientific lines, as the reader is already aware, that we must look for Colombia's best intellectual achievements, but to the fields of jurisprudence, of classical literature, history, and *belles lettres*.

As elsewhere, perhaps a little more than elsewhere, the favourite theme of Colombian writers is their own country. In the paths of history, for instance, they have strayed little, and that little without overmuch success, into original investigation of other lands and epochs. But there is a brilliant galaxy of historians dealing with their own land. Especially noteworthy are José Manuel Restrepo (1782-1864), an aide-de-camp and secretary of Bolivar, who wrote a detailed account of the revolution against Spain ; Joaquin de Acosta (1800-52), who wrote a masterly and at once entertaining and veracious history of the discovery and conquest of New Granada, based on original sources, the old chronicles and manuscripts, with a true instinct for separating the grain from the chaff, the truth from the mass of superstitious legends and exaggerations : partly covering the same ground, but extending over the whole epoch, is Plaza's *History of New Granada*,

with a later volume bringing the narration down to 1830. Plaza (1807-54) is a careful historian, but his style is somewhat drier than Acosta's lively narrative. Another monumental work devoted to colonial times, though chiefly to the history of the Church—the author's original intention was to confine his work exclusively thereto—is Groot's *Historia eclesiastica y civil de la Nueva Granada*. Groot (1800-78) lacked the fluency and grace of pen that distinguishes most Colombians. He was a devout Catholic, and his work, printing copious documentary sources, can therefore be read as an antidote to those historians who are inclined to attribute all Colombia's troubles, in both colonial and modern times, to the dominance of the clergy. His defence of the Jesuits and attack on the brusque methods of their expulsion is classical.

For modern times there is no one comprehensive historian, but there is a host of biographies, histories of particular events or administrations, and personal memoirs, written by active participants in the events or by close friends and followers. Of memoirs, the most noteworthy are Joaquin Posada Gutierrez' (1797-1879), written in an elegant style. What such works lose in scientific carefulness, absolute dependability, and detached breadth of view, they gain in literary interest, in intensity of personality, and corresponding vivacity and vigour of style.

Historical investigations continue unabated. A valuable collection of reprints and original histories published at various dates in recent years and containing many works of high excellence is the *Biblioteca de Historia Nacional*. Much of the material, then, for a complete history of Colombia is at hand, but the old bitter party traditions still live on to prevent an impartial summing up of the evidence. Events of eighty years ago are still live questions, answered more often by political partisans than unbiassed historians.

Much keen intellectual activity of the best brains Colombia has produced has spent itself in the barren fields of petty political controversy. The " scholar in politics " has been no novelty in Colombia. It has been the rule rather than the exception for the highest office in the land to be filled by men of decided literary attainments. Of Colombia's presidents, many have attained high rank as journalists or authors, Mariano Ospina, Manuel Murillo Toro, Carlos Holguin, Rafael Nuñez, philosopher, sceptic, and poet, Miguel Antonio Caro, José M. Marroquin, classicist, satirist, and novelist, to mention only a few. Their pens, trenchant in politics, were also wielded with effect in other spheres. The most remarkable of all was perhaps Caro (1843-1909), a man who embodies the ideals of a large mass of Colombians, typifying in his character the best class of Conservative. As a statesman Caro was absolutely incorruptible, a veritable Cato in his patriotism and devotion to his principles : his public life was in entire harmony with his writings. His literary tastes were a legitimate inheritance from his father, José Eusebio Caro, a distinguished poet. He was a profound classical scholar ; at an early age he published a translation of Virgil into correct and spirited Spanish verse, as faithful and happy a rendering of that master as is to be found in any modern language. This gained for him at once a high rank in the world of Spanish letters, and he was made a member of the Madrid Academy. His public career did not interfere with his literary studies, but it was as a critic rather than as a creator that he kept his foremost rank. He possessed vast erudition ; his knowledge of both ancient and modern literature was profound ; but, though he read, he did not sympathize with, the modern writer. Science for him meant exclusively the Catholic philosophy. Nineteenth-century ideas of revolt did not appeal

to him. "His heart," it has been said, "was in the reign of Philip the Second."

There are several writers who might be set up against Caro as embodying contrasting phases of Colombian literary activity. Manuel Ancizar (1812-82), for instance, whose stout championship of complete liberty of thought may be forgotten, but whose *Peregrinaciones de Alpha* is destined to immortality in his own land. This popular narrative of his travels while engaged under Codazzi in the Corographical Survey is a model of scientific geographical description combined with felicity of phrase, revealing a true appreciation of the beauties of nature and a rare insight into the characters and customs of the people among whom he travelled. But perhaps the most striking antithesis to Caro is his contemporary, Salvador Camacho Roldan (1827-1900), for the two men had many points of external resemblance which serve to accentuate the fundamental contrast. Camacho Roldan, like Caro, was a man of unimpeachable personal character, lovable, and a devoted and upright public servant in important posts, though he never wielded supreme power. A successful business man, he was of an eminently practical turn of mind, and devoted his great intellectual powers chiefly to economical subjects, as a writer on which, in Colombia, he stands unrivalled in depth and soundness, save perhaps by Miguel Samper, whom he excels in the faculty which the Colombians share with the French of embuing even dry subjects with an *esprit* that enlivens without destroying values. He was keenly impressed with Colombia's need to throw off her isolation and swim with the world current. Caro's only travels were among his books—he never left Colombia, rarely even Bogotá. Camacho Roldan, though no disdainer of the printed word—he founded a bookstore famous throughout Spanish America—not only knew his own

land well, but travelled extensively in Europe and the United States. In his *Notas de Viaje* he left a valuable and at the same time entertaining record of his observations on an extended tour from Bogotá to and through the United States.

Economical, historical, political, and even critical work cannot readily create a national literature in the sense of one fundamentally distinctive, apart from its subject matter, from that of other nations. Fiction, poetry, and the drama may. It is in these that the national spirit spontaneously expresses itself, rising from the soil up. But the Spanish American character in general, and the fundamental conditions of Spanish American life, have, until very recently, been far too similar in the various countries, and all have been intellectually too much under the same Spanish and French influences, to have permitted as yet any very wide differentiation of national literatures. Minor variations there are, apparent to a trained literary student ; but at a first glance it is well-nigh impossible to tell the work of a writer of one Spanish American nation from that of his *confrères* of another country. In this sense, then, Colombia has no national literature ; there is no fundamental stamp that at once impresses the work of a Colombian poet or novelist as fundamentally different from that of a Cuban, a Mexican, a Peruvian, etc. So far the drama has played no part in shaping Colombian thought. The dramatic art seems to require for its fruition a finished, not a transitionary, epoch of social development, and especially a working stage. It is a truism that the dramatist of first quality must know stage technique. Both of these elements, a stage and an economically rounded civilization, are lacking in Colombia. The only city in the land of population enough to even attempt to support a permanent stage is Bogotá. And even Bogotá is a small community. The

hesitancy that exists to enter into frank discussion of subjects, the fear to offend one's neighbour that exists in every small community, the following of the lines of least resistance, do not tend to devolop a drama that deals with modern actual problems, or presents great truths of character or of society. The few successful plays in Colombia have been historical plays, dealing superficially and usually verbosely with some romantic hero or gallant episode of the past ; a favourite theme, for instance, has been the life and death of Policarpa Salavarrieta, lovingly known as " La Pola," heroine of the war for Independence.

In fiction one Colombian novel, first published in 1867, has gained an international reputation and has been translated into several languages. *Maria* has probably received the highest tributes from critics and been the most popular and widely read of all Spanish American books. Wherever Spanish is spoken *Maria* has been known, loved, and wept over. Its author, Jorge Isaacs (pronounced Ee-saks), was born in 1837 in the Cauca, the son of a well-to-do planter. The father was a Jamaican Jew, who, at an early age, had married a Catholic and became converted to that religion, in which he brought up his children. There is little in the book that displays any traces at all of Jewish or English influence or descent ; it is typically Spanish American, with the exquisite prose-poetry, exuberance and even floweriness of style, the poignancy of a first love, and the tender sentiment that touches the heart and moistens the eye of every true son of the tropics. To the foreigner the chief charm of this novel lies in its description of tropical scenes and customs, and especially in the delineation of the characteristically happy intimate home-life of rural Colombia. With all its sentiment and pathos, its style of the bygone age of *Paul and Virginia*, of

Chateaubriand and Lamartine, *Maria* does not cease to be a novel of real life—real life seen with the eyes of a poet. It is an idyll of the home, a narration of household joys and sorrows, a simple history of a pure, first-love in the bosom of the family circle, too pure, too tender, too reverently dreamlike to end aught otherwise than by the death of the angelic heroine.

The popularity of *Maria* has been chiefly due, not to its significance as fiction, but to its poetic qualities ; for it is poetry that pulses the blood and expands the emotions of your Colombian. Musty lawyers, shrewd merchants, weather-beaten farmers can recite you verse by the hour. There is a veritable cult of poetry in Colombia. The highest honours are showered upon the poet, and, more significant, he is read and, even more, listened to—an evening's recital by one of the popular poets of the day will invariably attract a large audience. Much poetry is written—much that is good, little that is positively bad, though of a sameness that is more wearisome than positive fault—the eternal symbols of love and adoration done to death.

No striking genius has been produced, but dozens of poets of talent have enriched Spanish literature, so many that it is difficult to single a few for mention. José Fernandez Madrid (1780-1829), during the war for Independence, must have inspired by his passionate appeals for liberty many a brave deed and spurred on discouraged leaders : José Eusebio Caro (1817-53), Gutierrez Gonzalez (1826-72), J. J. Ortiz (1814-92), Joaquin Pablo Posada (1825-80), are honoured names. Julio Arboleda (1817-62), of a patrician family, is perhaps the best known of Colombian poets. Rarely have they attempted poems of a large canvass ; short verses breathing love or gallantry, patriotism or admiration for the beauties of the Andes and the plains, or witty *jeux d'esprits,*

sharp epigrams, and satires have been the favoured style. But Arboleda wrote a heroic epic of the Spanish conquest, *Gonzalo de Oyon,* unfortunately left uncompleted, for this delicate wielder of the pen was a cruel soldier in his country's fratricidal strifes, and met death at the hands of an assassin, whose father, so said Arboleda's foes, he had put to death.

Of a somewhat later generation two poets stood out pre-eminently, Diego Fallon (1834-1905) and Rafael Pombo (1833-1912). Fallon, whose literary output was scanty but of a singularly polished yet inspired content, like Gray, taking infinite pains over his few verses, and like Coleridge, spending himself in brilliant conversation ; Pombo, whom the Argentine litterateur, Cané, has styled " one of the greatest poets who has written in Spanish." Cané narrates an amusing anecdote that occurred in a literary salon in New York, presided over by a distinguished Argentine lady, to whom Pombo was presented. The lady asked Pombo who was the anonymous poetess, the famous Edda the Bogotana, whose verses, imbued with such a profound and absorbing passion, recalled the inimitable accents of Sappho crying body and soul for the man of her dreams and desires.

" Do you really find these verses worth reading? " asked Pombo.

" Worth reading ! Verses vibrating with the deepest passions of a woman's soul, verses so essentially feminine, verses, too, exhaling the mysticism, the adoration of a Santa Teresa ! Oh ! you men, who among you could write such verses? "

" Well," said Pombo, " Edda is now in New York, and if you want to make her acquaintance——"

" Speak, man ! " cried his hostess impetuously ; " where does she live?—what's her name? I'll see her to-morrow ; I will cover her with kisses ! "

"Then begin, señora," said the ugly little Pombo ; "I—I am Edda."

These men are dead, but the aspirants for their commanding place are enrolled by the score and the hundred. The torrents and rivers of Colombian verse flow unceasingly, with a facility of language and of rhyme and a technical correctness that is appalling. Even men close to the soil, men of the plains and the hills, without education, without access to books, have sung songs of no mean merit, their names unknown while their songs endure. Of the poets now living, it would be invidious to make any comment ; the mere mention of a few names may be not without interest to a stray reader who might want to read deeper. Julio Florez, Guillermo Valencia, Max. Grillo, Alirio Diaz Guerra, Roberto McDouall, Leon Gomez, Arciniegas, Restrepo, Rivas Groot are among a few of the more popular present-day poets who have graced Colombian literature.

I trust I have said enough to indicate that in this remote corner of the earth, in this country whose literate population is less than half a million, though no literary genius of the very first rank has arisen, men of talent and of inspiration have been many, that this soil of literary traditions holds latent possibilities and promises of the richest intellectual harvest. No one who has come into contact, either personally or through the medium of their books, with the cultured race of Colombians can escape the feeling that they possess inherent qualities of a high order to enrich the world. Let Colombia once swing fully into line in the march of the nations, let the portals of progress be opened wide to her, there will come a renaissance of the spirit, and geniuses may well bloom to confer a priceless heritage upon humanity.

At present, however, old traditions, old allegiances

CATHEDRAL AT GARZON, DEPARTMENT OF HUILA.

To face p. 268.

are too powerful to make the full expression of thought attractive. In contact with the Colombian mind, even when it is in apparent revolt, one is conscious of coming face to face again and again with barred doors, behind which lurk the ghosts of the past, barriers which no one seeks to open for fear of offending friends, relatives, spiritual advisers, business associates, for fear of arousing popular antagonism, for fear of social ostracism, for fear, in short, of all those countless impediments to a full and free self-expression which, though to a lesser degree than in this small community, are still encountered even in the most advanced and progressive societies. And the stifling or discouragement of thought in one direction—how irreparable the damage, in what countless and unforeseen ways does it diminish man's intellectual achievements along lines ever so remotely distant.

Personal contact with educated foreigners is one quick medium of disseminating the latest advances in knowledge, and stimulating interchange of ideas and expression of thought. As the number of Colombians who can gain education abroad is necessarily limited, there is a useful field of social service open to foreigners in Colombia, not only to those who possess capital and can wield modern business methods, but especially to those trained in the theoretical and applied sciences, who by example or direct teaching could raise the general standards of living in Colombia and help lift the country to the foremost plane. The experience of other Spanish American nations shows that nothing is to be feared from an influx of foreigners ; the natives, prospering as the nation prospers with the advent of outside capital and blood, retain their ascendancy. The Colombian Government is well aware of the scholastic need of foreigners, and from time to time teachers and professors are imported from Europe ; but it cannot

be expected that men of the highest calibre will be attracted as long as the salaries offered are low and such clauses are inserted in the contracts as " (The Professor) agrees to totally abstain from all conversation or discussion in regard to questions of a political or religious character." Undeniably, a foreigner's first duty is to refrain from participation in politics or in religious controversies, as long as religion is an element in the political situation, but it would be somewhat galling to a man of spirit to have such an express proviso thrust into his contract of employment.

But once let Colombia's best minds cease to be unduly engrossed by the petty strife of partisan politics, let her people come into harmony with the latest scientific developments, let her keen intellects learn to think *world* thoughts and soar on the wings of complete freedom, and no one need be astonished if this cradle of learning produces a race of intellectual giants. The raw material is there.

APPENDIX I

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF COLOMBIA[1] ADOPTED BY LEGISLATIVE ACT NUMBER 3 OF 1910 (OCTOBER 31ST)

TITLE I

Amending Art. 3.

ART. 1. The boundaries of the Republic with the neighbouring nations are as follows: with Venezuela, those established by the arbitral award of the King of Spain; with Costa Rica, those prescribed by the arbitral award of the President of the French Republic; with Brazil, those determined by the Treaty made with that Republic, in so far as therein delimited, and for the remaining part, the boundaries in 1810 between the Viceroyalty of New Granada and the Portuguese possessions; with the Republic of Ecuador, provisionally, those established in the Colombian law of June 25, 1824; and with Peru, those adopted in the Mosquera-Pedemonte protocol, in furtherance of the Treaty of September 22, 1829.

The lines separating the Republic from the contiguous nations can only be changed by virtue of public treaties duly approved by both Houses of the Legislature.

Amending Arts. 5 and 6

ART. 2. The national territory shall be divided into Departments, and the Departments into Municipalities or Municipal Districts.

The laws may decree the formation of new Departments, dismembering the present ones, when demanded by three-fourths of the Municipal Councillors of the region that is to form the new Department, and provided the following conditions be complied with:

(1) That the new Department have at least 250,000 inhabitants and an annual income of $250,000.

(2) That the Department or each of the Departments from which it is to be separated be left with at least a population of 250,000 inhabitants, and with an annual income not less than $250,000; and

(3) That the law decreeing the creation of the new Department be approved by two successive annual Legislatures.

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[1] See note to page 58.

A law approved in the ordinary form shall be sufficient for the abolition of any Department created subsequent to the present Legislative Act, provided that during debate it be proven that the entity to be abolished lacks any of the foregoing conditions.

The laws may separate municipalities from one Department or abolish territories (*intendencias*) and annex them to one or more adjoining Departments.

TITLE III

Amending Arts. 29 and 30.

ART. 3. The Legislature shall in no case prescribe the penalty of capital punishment.

Amending Art. 31.

ART. 4. No law establishing a monopoly can be enforced until the persons who are thereby deprived of the exercise of a lawful occupation shall have been fully idemnified.

No monopoly shall be established except as a means of revenue and by virtue of a law.

Special privileges may be granted only in connection with useful inventions and means of communication.

Amending Art. 32.

ART. 5. In time of peace no one shall be deprived of his property or any part thereof except as a punishment or by judicial compulsion, or indemnity, or by a general tax, in accordance with the laws. For grave causes of public utility, defined by the Legislature, there may be compulsory alienation of private property under judicial mandate ; the value of the property shall be paid before the expropriation is carried out.

ART. 6. In time of peace, only the Congress, the Departmental Assemblies, and the Municipal Councils may levy taxes.

ART. 7. New emissions of paper money of compulsory circulation are absolutely prohibited.

TITLE VI

Amending Arts. 68 and 72.

ART. 8. The Legislative Chambers shall convene of their own right each year on the 20th of July in the capital of the Republic. If, for any cause whatsoever, they cannot do so on such date, they shall convene as soon as possible within the year.

The sessions of the Congress shall last ninety days, and may be extended for thirty days more, if a two-thirds vote of each of the two Houses shall so provide.

The Congress may also meet when convoked by the Government, and it shall then treat in the first place of the matters submitted to it for consideration by the Government. In such case it shall remain in session for such time as the Government shall determine.

Amending Art. 74.

ART. 9. The Congress shall meet as one body solely to install the President in his office and to elect Designates.

In such cases the Presidents of the Senate and of the Chamber, respectively, shall be President and Vice-President of the Congress.

Amending Art. 77.

ART. 9. The Congress shall annually elect two Designates, a first and a second, who shall exercise the Executive Power in that order in case of a vacancy in the Presidency.

TITLE VIII

Amending Art. 93.

ART. 11. The Senate shall be composed of as many members as correspond to the population of the Republic in the ratio of one for each 120,000 inhabitants, and one additional for any fraction thereof not less than 50,000. Two substitutes shall be elected for each Senator.

ART. 12. The Senators shall be elected by Electoral Councils.

ART. 13. It is the function of the Departmental Assemblies to elect the members of the Electoral Councils in the proportion of one for each 30,000 inhabitants of the respective Department.

ART. 14. The national territory shall be divided by law into Senatorial circumscriptions of one or more Departments, in such wise that there may be minority representation.

ART. 15. Persons forming part of the respective Electoral Council may not be elected Senators.

Amending Art. 95.

ART. 16. The term of office of Senators shall be four years. They are re-eligible indefinitely.

Amending Art. 98, par. 4.

ART. 17. It is a function of the Senate, in addition to those attributed to it by Article 98 of the Constitution, to elect four magistrates of the Supreme Court of Justice and their substitutes from ternal nominations presented by the President of the Republic.

TITLE IX

Amending Art. 99.

ART. 18. The Chamber of Representatives shall be composed of as many persons as correspond to the population of the Republic, in the ratio of one for each 50,000 inhabitants.

Two substitutes shall be elected for each Representative.

Amending Art. 101.

ART. 19. The term of office of the Representatives shall be two years, and they shall be re-eligible indefinitely.

ART. 20. The Chamber of Representatives has the following powers:

(1) To examine and definitively close the general account of the Treasury;

(2) To initiate legislation for the levying of taxes or organizing the Public Ministry (Attorney-General's office);

(3) To elect five magistrates of the Supreme Court of Justice and their substitutes from ternal nominations presented by the President of the Republic.

(4) To impeach before the Senate, whenever there may be just cause, the President of the Republic, the Ministers of the Cabinet, the Attorney-General of the Nation, and the Magistrates of the Supreme Court of Justice; and

(5) To take cognizance of charges and complaints presented to it by the Attorney-General of the Nation or by private persons against any of the aforesaid officers, and to base thereon, if found meritorious, impeachments for trial by the Senate.

TITLE X

Amending Art. 107.

ART. 21. No member of the Congress may be arrested or sued civilly or criminally without the permission of the Chamber of which he is a member, during the sessions of Congress or forty days before or twenty days thereafter. In case of *flagrante delicto*, the delinquent may be detained, and shall be placed forthwith at the disposal of the respective Chamber.

Amending Art. 108.

ART. 22. The President of the Republic, the Cabinet Ministers, the Magistrates of the Supreme Court of Justice, the Attorney-General of the Nation and the Governors may not be elected members of Congress until three months after they have ceased to perform the duties of their respective offices.

Neither may any one be Senator or Representative for a Department or electoral circumscription wherein within three months prior to the elections he has exercised civil, political, or military jurisdiction.

Amending Art. 109.

ART. 23. The President of the Republic may not confer office upon Senators or Representatives who have been in the performance of their duties during their term of office, except that this prohibition shall not apply to the offices of Cabinet Minister, Governor, Diplomatic representative, or Military Chief in time of war.

Violation of this rule renders the nomination null and void.

Acceptance of any of these [permitted] offices by a member of Congress causes an absolute vacancy [of his seat] in the respective Chamber, except that acceptance of the office of Cabinet Minister produces only a temporary vacancy during the time while he discharges such office.

Amending Art. 113.

ART. 24. In case of vacancy, either temporary or absolute, in the seat of a member of Congress, the respective substitute shall act in his stead.

TITLE XI

Amending Art. 114.

ART. 25. The President of the Republic shall be elected by the direct votes of the citizens having the right to vote for Represen-

tatives, and for a term of four years, in the manner prescribed by law. The voting shall be on a single day.

ART. 26. In case of a temporary vacancy in the Presidency of the Republic or in case of an absolute vacancy pending a new election, the first or second Designate, elected annually by the Congress. shall exercise in order the Executive Power. Amending Arts. 124 and 125.

If for any cause whatsoever Congress shall not have elected Designates, those last elected shall continue as such. In default of Designates, the Ministers shall enter upon the duties of the Executive office in the order prescribed by law, and in default of Ministers, the Governors, the order of succession among whom shall be according to the proximity of their residences to the capital of the Republic [the nearest one succeeding].

Absolute vacancies in the Presidency are caused by :

Death, accepted resignation, dismissal after sentence passed, permanent physical incapacity and abandonment of office. The last two shall be declared by the Senate.

ART. 27. In case of absolute vacancies in the Presidency, the successor in charge of the Executive Power shall convoke elections for a date within sixty days after the vacancy. Amending Arts. 124 and 125.

But when the unexpired period of the term is one year or less, the successor in charge of the Executive Power shall continue in the performance of his duties, without convoking new elections.

ART. 28. The President of the Republic is in no event re-eligible for the next succeeding term. Amending Art. 128.

No citizen who, under any title whatsoever, may have performed the functions of the Executive Power within the year immediately preceding the election, may be elected President of the Republic or Designate.

ART. 29. The President of the Republic, or whosoever acts in his stead, shall be responsible for acts and omissions that violate the Constitution and the laws. Amending Art. 122.

ART. 30. No act of the President, except the appointment and removal of Ministers, shall be valid or have any effect whatsoever unless it is countersigned and promulgated by the Minister to whose department it refers, who shall be responsible by virtue of such action. Idem.

ART. 31. The President of the Republic, during the term for which he is elected, and whosoever is in charge of the Executive Power during his incumbency, may not be prosecuted or tried for crimes, except by virtue of an impeachment by the Chamber of Representatives and after the Senate shall have declared that there is ground for such prosecution.

ART. 32. The President of the Republic, or whosoever acts in the stead, may not during his incumbency of office or within one year thereafter leave national soil without the permission of the Senate,

Violation of this provision, during incumbency of office, implies an abandonment of office.

Amending Art. 121.

ART. 33. In case of foreign war or civil disturbance the President, with the signature of all the Ministers, may declare public order disturbed and the Republic or any part thereof to be in a state of siege. By such declaration the Government, in addition to the powers conferred by the laws, shall have such powers as govern war between nations pursuant to the accepted rules of International Law.

Decrees, within the scope of the aforesaid powers, issued by the President shall be binding and obligatory, provided they are signed by all the Ministers.

The Government may not repeal laws by means of such decrees. Its powers are limited to the suspension of laws which are incompatible with a state of siege.

The Government shall declare public order re-established as soon as the foreign war shall have ceased or the uprising shall have been suppressed; and decrees of extraordinary character that it may have issued shall cease to be in force.

The President and Ministers shall be responsible if they declare public order disturbed when in fact the event of foreign war or civil disturbance has not occurred; and they, as also all other officers, shall likewise be responsible for any abuse committed in the exercise of the powers granted by this Article.

Upon the re-establishment of public order, the Government shall convene the Congress and shall submit a statement of its acts and the reasons therefor to that body.

In case of foreign war, the Government in the same decree whereby it declares public order to be disturbed and the Republic to be in a state of siege, shall convene the Congress to meet within sixty days thereafter; and if it does not so convene the Congress, that body may meet of its own right.

Amending Art. 120, par. 10.

ART. 34. It is a function of the President of the Republic, as the supreme administrative authority, to direct diplomatic and commercial relations with other Powers and sovereigns; to appoint diplomatic representatives and receive foreign representatives, and to negotiate treaties and conventions with foreign Powers, which shall be submitted to the Congress for approval.

TITLE XV

Amending Art. 146.

ART. 35. The Supreme Court of Justice shall be composed of nine magistrates. It shall be divided by law into parts, and to each part shall be assigned the matters whereof it shall separately take cognizance, and the matters wherein the whole Court shall intervene shall likewise be determined.

ART. 36. The term of office of magistrates of the Supreme Court shall be five years, and that of the magistrates of the Superior Courts shall be four years. Both may be re-elected indefinitely. Amending Art. 147.

ART. 37. The President of the Supreme Court shall be elected each year by the court itself. Amending Art. 148.

ART. 38. The magistrates of the Superior Courts and the respective substitutes shall be appointed by the Supreme Court from ternal nominations made by the respective Departmental Assemblies.

ART. 39. The Government shall appoint magistrates *pro tempore* to the Supreme Court of Justice and the respective Governors shall appoint judges *pro tempore* to the Superior Courts, when the vacancies in the office of the principals cannot be filled by the substitutes.

ART. 40. In every case of incompatibility between the Constitution and the laws, the constitutional provisions shall be preferred and enforced.

ART. 41. To the Supreme Court of Justice is confided the guardianship of the integrity of the Constitution. Consequently, it shall have the following powers, in addition to those conferred upon it by the Constitution and the laws: Amending Art. 151, par. 4.

To decide definitively as to the enforceability of Legislative Acts which the Government has objected to as unconstitutional and of all laws and decrees attacked before it by any citizen as unconstitutional, the Attorney-General of the Nation being heard thereon.

ART. 42. The laws shall provide for contentious administrative proceedings.

TITLE XVII

ART. 43. The entire citizenship by direct vote shall elect Municipal Councillors and Deputies to the Departmental Assemblies. Amending Art. 172.

ART. 44. Citizens able to read and write or who have an annual income of three hundred *pesos* or real estate of the value of a thousand *pesos*, shall elect the President of the Republic and Representatives by direct vote. Amending Art. 173.

ART. 45. In every election wherein two or more individuals are voted for, the election shall be by the system of incomplete voting or electoral quotient or cumulative voting or any other whatsoever that assures proportional representation of parties. The manner of making this right effective shall be determined by law.

ART. 46. The laws shall apportion and delimit electoral districts for the election of Representatives, and the Departmental Assemblies shall apportion and delimit electoral districts for the election of Deputies, if the electoral system that is adopted requires the Amending Arts. 174 to 178 inc.

formation of electoral districts. In such case, no electoral district may elect less than three Representatives or Deputies.

Amending Arts. 182 to 201 inc.

TITLE XVIII

ART. 47. The territory of the Republic is divided for administrative purposes into Departments. Each Department shall be ruled by a Governor who shall be both the representative of the Executive Power and the chief of the local (sectional) administration.

ART. 48. Under the limitations established by the Constitution, the Departments shall be independent in the administration of local matters.

ART. 49. The Departments are divided into Municipal Districts. For better administration, provincial or other divisions may be established.

ART. 50. The property and revenues of the Departments and of the Municipalities are their own exclusive property, respectively, and enjoy the same guarantees as the property and revenues of private persons. Such property cannot be taken except under the same conditions as private property. The National Government may not grant exemption from departmental or municipal taxes.

ART. 51. The property, rights, securities, and shares which belonged to the extinct Sovereign States either by laws or by decrees of the National Government or under any other title whatsoever, shall continue to be owned by the respective Departments; except the immovables specified in Article 202 of the Constitution.

ART. 52. In each Department there shall be an administrative corporation called the Departmental Assembly, which shall meet annually in the capital of the Department.

ART. 53. The Departmental Assemblies shall be elected by popular vote and shall be composed of deputies corresponding in number to the population of the Departments in the ratio of one for each 12,000 inhabitants and one for each fraction thereof greater than 6,000. This electoral basis may be changed by law and the time and duration of sessions shall be fixed by law.

ART. 54. The Assemblies are invested with the power:

(1) To regulate, by ordinance and in accordance with constitutional precepts, primary and secondary educational institutions and benevolent institutions, supported with departmental funds;

(2) To direct and encourage by ordinance and with departmental resources industries already established and the introduction of new ones, the importation of foreign capital, the colonization of lands belonging to the Department, the opening of roads and navigable canals, the construction of railways, the utilization of

forests belonging to the Department, the improvement of river channels, matters concerning the local police, the supervision of the revenues and expenditures of the districts, and generally all matters belonging to the local interests and internal advancement;

(3) To organize departmental accounting offices or tribunals of accounts, appoint the corresponding comptrollers or magistrates, and to present the ternal lists of nominations for the District Attorneys (*fiscales*) in the Superior Courts and tribunals and for the respective substitutes;

(4) To create and abolish municipalities pursuant to the basis of population prescribed by law, and to separate or annex municipal aggregations, consulting local interests. If any such annexations or separation be complained of by any resident whose interests are involved, the final determination of the matter shall be by the Congress;

(5) To create and abolish Notarial and Registry Circuits and to determine the number of departmental employees, their duties and salaries; and

(6) To exercise the other functions attributed to them by the Constitution and the laws.

ART. 55. The Assemblies shall annually vote the Budget of Revenues and Expenditures of the respective Department.

ART. 56. In order to meet the necessary expenses of administration, the Departmental Assemblies may impose taxes under the conditions and within the limitations prescribed by law.

ART. 57. The ordinances passed by the Departmental Assemblies are binding as long as they are not annulled by the judiciary in the manner prescribed by law.

ART. 58. Private persons aggrieved by acts of the Assemblies may resort to the competent court, which, by speedy proceedings, in case of grave injury, may suspend the act complained of.

ART. 59. The Governor is vested with the following powers:

(1) To comply with the orders of the Government and cause the same to be complied with within the Department;

(2) To direct administrative action in the Department, appointing and removing his agents and amending or revoking their acts, and dictating the provisions necessary in all branches of the administration;

(3) To be the organ of the Department and represent it in political and administrative matters;

(4) To assist the administration of justice as prescribed by law;

(5) To exercise the right of supervision and protection over official corporations and public institutions;

(6) To approve in legal form the ordinances enacted by the Departmental Assemblies;

(7) To revise the acts of the municipalities and mayors (*alcaldes*) on the ground of unconstitutionality or illegality, to revoke those of the *alcaldes* and to remit those of the municipalities to the judiciary for decision as to their enforceability;

(8) And such other functions as may by law belong to him.

ART. 60. The Governor may call upon the armed force for aid and the military chief shall obey his orders, saving special provisions issued by the Government.

ART. 61. In each Municipal District there shall be a corporation elected by popular vote, which shall be designated by the name of Municipal Council.

ART. 62. It is the function of the Municipal Councils, by means of local resolutions or regulations, to provide for the due administration of the district; to vote local taxes and expenditures, in conformity with the Constitution, the laws, and the ordinances passed by the Assemblies; to take a civil census when prescribed by law; to appoint municipal judges, attorneys, and treasurers, and to exercise the other functions that may be assigned to them.

ART. 63. The resolutions of the Municipal Councils are binding as long as they have not been annulled by the judiciary.

ART. 64. Private persons aggrieved by acts of the Municipal Councils may resort to the judge, who shall, by speedy proceedings, suspend on the ground of unconstitutionality or illegality the act complained of.

ART. 65. In every municipality there shall be an *alcalde*, who shall exercise the functions of agent of the Governor and who shall be the chief of the municipal administration.

TITLE XIX

Amending Art. 206.

ART. 66. The Executive Power shall annually make up the Budget of Revenues and Expenditures and submit the same to the Congress during the first ten days of its annual session.

ART. 67. In time of peace no tax or impost may be established which does not figure in the Budget of Revenues, nor may any payment be made from the Treasury which is not included in the Budget of Expenditures.

Amending Art. 208.

ART. 68. The Executive Power may not open the supplemental and extraordinary credits treated of in Article 208 of the Constitution, nor make transfers of accounts in the Budget, except under the conditions and with the proceedings established by law.

Amending Art. 204.

ART. 69. No indirect tax or increase of an impost of this kind shall begin to be collected until six months after the promulgation of the law establishing the tax or increase.

TITLE XX

ART. 70. The Constitution may be amended only by a Legislative Act first discussed and approved by the Congress in the usual manner, and in like manner considered at the next succeeding annual session and thereat approved, by both Chambers, after second and third hearings, by an absolute majority of the whole membership of each of the Chambers. Amending Art. 209.

TITLE XXI

TEMPORARY PROVISIONS

ART. A. The inaugural dates of the next terms of the corporations and officers treated of in the Constitution and in the present Amendatory Act shall be as follows :

That of the National Congress, July 20, 1911.

That of the President of the Republic, August 7, 1914.

That of the Departmental Assemblies, March 1, 1911.

That of the Supreme Court of Justice, May 1, 1915. The present Assembly shall elect the two magistrates to complete the number of nine, prescribed by this Act, and the term of all shall expire April 30, 1915.

That of the Superior Courts, May 1, 1911.

ART. B. The crimes punished by the death penalty in the Penal Code shall hereafter, and until otherwise provided by law, be punished by twenty years of hard labour in the penitentiary.

ART. C. Until the Congress and the Assemblies shall have passed the corresponding laws and ordinances, the Government shall make the necessary provisions in the matter of territorial electoral divisions.

ART. D. Article 180 of the Constitution, establishing judges of election returns, is hereby repealed. Repealing Art. 180.

ART. E. Provisions of the National Constitution of August 5, 1886, that are contrary to this Legislative Act, and all Legislative Acts issued by the National Assembly prior to the present Act, are hereby repealed. General repealing clause.

ART. F. Until the next Congress meets, in accordance with the present Act amendatory of the Constitution, the present National Assembly shall continue in the performance of its duties, in case the Government deem it necessary to convoke it.

ART. G. The present Legislative Act shall go into effect, in so far as concerns the high National Powers, on its approval, and for the nation at large, thirty days after publication in the *Diario Oficial.*

APPENDIX II

ABORIGINAL LINGUISTIC STOCKS OF COLOMBIA

THE following extracts, translated from P. Rivet's *Les familles linguistiques du Nord-ouest de l'Amérique du Sud* (*L'Année linguistique*, tome iv., 1908–10, Paris, Klincksieck, 1912, pp. 117–54), will give an idea of the Indian languages found in Colombia and of the most approved recent classification of them :

In the north-west portion of South America, that is to say, in the region bounded on the north by the frontier of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, on the west by the Pacific Ocean, on the south by the Ecuador-Peru boundary and the Amazon, and on the east by an imaginary line corresponding more or less to longitude 75° West from Paris . . . there are eleven special linguistic families, viz. :

I. The Chibcha family.
II. The Chocó family.
III. The Andaqui family.
IV. The Mocoa family.
V. The Guahibo family.
VI. The Esmeraldas family.
VII. The Cañari family.
VIII. The Zaparo family.
IX. The Arda family.
X. The Jibaro family.
XI. The Cahuapana family.

In addition, one finds representatives of five great South American linguistic groups, viz. :

A. The Uitóto group.
B. The Tukáno group.
C. The Carib group.
D. The Arawak group.
E. The Tupi-Guarani group.

I. The CHIBCHA FAMILY group is, at the present time, one of the most important in South America. To the north, it extends to the frontier of Costa Rica and Nicaragua . . . to the west, it reaches to the Pacific coast, except in the region occupied by the Chocós ; to the east it is bounded by the Eastern Cordillera of the Andes, but not exactly, for the Betoi of the Casanare River, wrongly included by Brinton in the Betoya group, speak in reality a Chibcha dialect. To the south, by absorption of the Coconuco, Paniquita, and Barbacoa families, the group sees its domain extend southwards to the latitude of Guayaquil, with the Western Cordillera as its eastern boundary, and as its western border, a line running from the mouth of the Santiago to the estuary of the Guayas. . . .

In résumé, according to the affinities of the divers dialects of this group I believe one can propose the following classification :

1. *Talamanque-Barbacoa Tongues.*—Guatuso, Cuna, Brunca, Cabecar, Tiribi, Terraba, Bribri, Chiripó, Güetare, Colorado, Cayápa, Cuaiquer, Cara.

2. *Paez-Coconuco Tongues.*—Totoró, Moguex, Paniquitá, Paez, Coconuco, Guanaco.

3. *Chibcha-Aruak Tongues.*—Chibcha, Duit, Betoi, Bintukua, Guamaka, Atanques, Köggaba, Sinsiga or Tunebo.

4. *Dorasque-Guaymi Tongues.*—Murire, Muoi, Sabanero, Valiente, Norteño, Penonomeño, Chimila, Chumulu, Gualaca, Changuina, Rama.

II. The CHOCÓS inhabit the basin of the Atrato River and the coast of the Pacific between the eighth and fourth degrees of latitude North. The documents which we possess on their language and their divers dialects are abundant and in general excellent ; unfortunately, they have not hitherto been used for an ensemble study or for a deep research into the affinities of this tongue, which should be considered as forming an independent group. Nothing, in effect, up to now justifies speaking of a Cuna-Chocó family as do some authors.

. . . .

III. The ANDAQUIS inhabit the Eastern Cordillera of Colombia towards the source of the River Fragua between 1° and 2° latitude North. The only document which we possess as to their language is a small vocabulary gathered by Albis, but it is in an American review so rare as to be lost for the majority of linguists. That is why I deem it not useless to reproduce it (Appendix I).[1]

IV. The MOCOAS live alongside of the Andaquis on the affluents of the upper Caquetá and the sources of the Putumayo : their

[1] Not translated.

language is only known to us[1] by a list of four words belonging to the Sebondoy dialect, published by Ernst (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. xxiii., 1891, at p. 13). Of these four words, one is clearly borrowed from the Spanish : *mazize*, maize ; but the other three seem to me to belong to the Chibcha group, as one can judge by the following comparisons :

Heart, *viko* : puyquy (*Chibcha*), yua-bika (*Bintukua*), dua-bika = liver (*Atanques*), puenko = soul (*Colorado*), (bor)-bugwa = stomach (*Terraba*), biguin = veins (*Guaymi norteño*), bukoa (idem), bugu (*Dorasque*), hokoa = liver (*Dorasque*), huik = soul (*Boruca*), ikúan = liver (*Guatuso*), ixŭōŭŏ = lung (*Rio Lari*), jije-ikuei = stomach (*Köggaba*), ikókire = intestines (*Guatuso*), meeki = liver (*Paez*), an-iguent = blood (*Mogeux*), iki = breast (*Paez*), ika = breast (*Brunca*), kuéki (*Cuna*).

Meat, *minchina*[2] : Muysc-chimy = human meat (*Chibcha*), ishenáwa, shinawa = corpse (*Cabecar*), shin-mo = corpse (*Tiribi*), uichana = a dead man (*Bintukua*), chána (*Cuna*).

Head, *visás :* a-pisu, a-fiso = hair (*Colorado*), ibsa = hair (*Chibcha*), tona iza, ma iza = hair (*Guatuso*).

In spite of the clearness of these lexicographical concordances, I deem it prudent, in view of the small number of words on which it rests, to maintain the Mocoa group as independent until new elements for study have been published.

V. In the GUAHIBO linguistic family, I think one can group, on the one hand, the *Guahibo*, strictly so-called, and on the other, the *Churoya*, hitherto considered as an independent language. The affinity between these two tongues, already glimpsed by Ernst (*op. cit.*, p. 11), springs from the following lexicographic similarities :

	Churoya.	Guahibo.
banana	parasa	palatana
cat	misi	mizi
chicha	kusuira	kuira
water	menera	mera
woman	piavichi	pihaua

[1] M. Rivet does not seem to have been aware of the book by Rocha, *Memorandum de Viaje ; Regiones Amazonicas* (Bogotá, 1905), the appendix of which (pp. 195–206) contains vocabularies of various tongues of the Caquetá and Putumayo tribes, viz., the *Coche* of Sebondoy (a Mocoa dialect ?), the *Inga* of the upper Caquetá (a Quichua dialect), the Ceona, Coreguaje, Carijona, and Hiutoto or Uitóto. (P. J. E.)

[2] This comparison between meat, human meat, corpse, seems to me legitimate because of the fact that the Mocoas were cannibals (cf. T. C. Mosquera, *Memoir on the Physical and Political Geography of New Grenada*, New York, 1853, p. 42).

	Churoya.	Guahibo.
fire	hijit, ijito	izoto, isoto
arrow	funait	bumaito = point, sharp, thorn
man	pévi	pebi
I	ya-gué	ja-ne, hano
moon	juimit, máometa	uameto, oamito
maize	jesá	getza, hetza, gedza
manioc	ke-baji	bagua
honey	manna	bana
night	merabi	merrabi, merravi
skin	begt	bocoto = bark
sun	guámeto	wameto
tobacco	joo	hô
earth	asá	atsá = clay
tiger	negueté	neguti, newuiti, nebute
one	kai matakavi	kahene, kaene, kaijaua ; matakavi = day
four	penasalavi buba	penaya autsiva
five	kaikabebaje	kahecobe, káikobe
six	kaikakubaje	kaekobeta

Of fifty *Churoya* words that are known to-day, twenty-four have, as one sees by the preceding comparisons, a root common to corresponding Guahibo words. Let me add that seven other words are borrowed from divers languages of the Orinoco and one from Quichua. I therefore think myself justified in considering Churoya as a dialect of Guahibo.

Thus extended, the Guahibo family occupies all the territory comprised between the Orinoco, the Meta, and the Vichada.

The Guahibo group ends the list of special linguistic groups, known at the present time, that belong to Colombia. We will now pass in review in the same fashion the special groups belonging exclusively to Ecuador.

. . . . . .

I have still to speak of the tribes which speak dialects belonging to families that are represented also in other regions of South America. As I said at the beginning, these tribes come from five great groups : the Uitóto, the Carib, the Tupi-Guarani, the Arawak, and the Tukáno groups.

A. The Uitóto group is represented by the small enclave of the *Oregones* in the *Peba* territory on the Ambiyacu River. [The author criticizes Sir Clements Markham's classification of a list of the tribes of the Valley of the Amazons, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xl., 1910, pp. 73–140.]

B. The Caribs are grouped in two different regions, one to the

north, the other to the south. The northern group is represented by the *Guaques*, and the *Carijonas* of the sources of the Yapura (Caquetá). . . .

The southern Carib group has not yet been pointed out, as far as I am aware. It is represented by the tribe of *Patagones* and by the *Peba* linguistic group, heretofore considered as forming an independent family. The *Patagones* occupied the region where the town of Jaen was founded, that is to say, the banks of the Amazon to the point where the river suddenly changes direction and flows due east, and the lower courses of the tributaries which it receives at this level: the Chamaya, the Utcubamba, the Chinchipe, and the Tabaconas. . . .

C. The GUARANI group of the Upper Amazon is represented by the *Omaguas* or *Campevas*, the *Cocamas* or *Ucayales*, the *Cocamillas* or *Cacamas* of the Huallaga or *Huallagas*, the *Yurimaguas* or *Zurimaguas*. All these peoples are distributed along the length of the Marañon and in its islands, from the mouth of the Putumayo on the east to the mouth of the Huallaga on the west, and along the lower courses of the last-named river and of the Ucayali. Their language is but little differentiated from that of other Tupi-Guarani idioms.

D. The ARAWAK family is represented, in the territory under review, to the north by a series of peoples who occupy the banks of the Guaviare River, and the best known of whom are the *Piapocos* and the *Achaguas*, and to the south by the *Tikunas*. The latter are settled on both sides of the Amazon; on the right bank, between the Amazon and the lower Yavari, in the neighbourhood of Caballococha; on the left bank, between the River Ambiyacu and the River Atacuari, on the affluents of the latter, the Yacanga and the Yanayaquina. Upon analysis, their language, formerly considered as forming an independent family, appears to be a very corrupt dialect of Arawak.

E. The TUKÁNO linguistic family is here represented by an ensemble of tribes which form its western group. These tribes occupy the basin of the Aguarico, thence both banks of the Napo from its confluence with the Aguarico to its mouth at the Marañon; they likewise inhabit the whole basin of the Putumayo from its source to its confluence with the River Yaguas; their southern boundary is formed by the River Mazan and by a line between the Napo and the Putumayo, which would join the mouth of the Mazan to that of the Yaguas. *Betoya* tribes likewise live on the upper Caquetá and its affluents on both shores as far as about 74° longitude.

. . . . . .

Such are, enumerated as briefly as possible, the divers linguistic families of the north-west region of South America. It will be

remarked that I do not include the QUICHUA family. This intentional omission demands a word of explanation, for it may surprise the reader.

It is certain that at the present time *Quichua* is spoken at a great many places in the territory we have just covered. To the north, it is found among the *Andaqui* Indians in the southern part of the State of Tolima ; to the east, in the whole upper Napo region, among the *Quijos* Indians and on the upper Amazon ; finally, in the whole inter-andine valley of Ecuador, *Quichua* is, at the present time, the only Indian tongue in use ; but, and one cannot insist too strongly on the point, this diffusion of *Quichua* is of a relatively recent date and certainly subsequent to the discovery. It was the missionaries who introduced the language of the Incas in all these regions. For territories like the Andaqui country, the upper Napo, the upper Amazon, which were never conquered by the sovereigns of Cuzco, the fact does not need to be proven, the more so as in these regions we nearly always find, alongside of the imported language (the official language, one might say), the local language, which in spite of the efforts of the priests has not been completely supplanted.

For the regions like the Ecuadorian inter-andine valley, which formed part of the Peruvian Empire for nearly a century and in which, at the present time, no other idiom has persisted besides the *Quichua*, the fact, though less evident, is no less certain ; indisputable documents published by the Ecuadorian historian Gonzales Suarez, and which I have reproduced (*Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris, nouv. serie* iv., 1907, pp. 31, 32), prove in effect that at the end of the sixteenth century *Quichua* had not yet become general throughout the upper plateau ; at that epoch, the local languages were still so widespread that the ecclesiastical authorities deemed it useful to have catechisms written in the divers dialects.

Unfortunately, these precious documents have been lost, and in order to succeed in establishing the affinities of these languages which have completely disappeared, the linguist has at his disposal only a few rare meanings of place names. In certain cases, nevertheless, the study of such material, insufficient as it is, permits one to draw positive conclusions. It is thus that I have shown that the language of the *Caras* was to all appearances a *Barbacoa* dialect and consequently *Chibcha*.

It is possible that some day one may likewise be able to draw deductions from the meagre materials that we possess as to the *Cañari*.

In other cases, one must have recourse to the toponomy. Finally, sometimes it is in the narratives of the ancient chroniclers that one can find the useful guide-post leading to the identification of these

languages. It is thus, for example, that I have been able to associate the *Paltas* with the *Jibaro* group.

. . . . . .

Such is the actual state of our knowledge as to the north-west region of South America. It is to be supposed that many simplifications have still to be made and that a certain number of groups, which I must still consider as independent, will little by little disappear by fusion. The scientific study of these regions has scarcely commenced, and one can expect that new materials will come to light in the future to complete what we already possess and which will permit more extended and more precise comparative studies. It is to be hoped that the activities of our travellers will not be diverted from these beautiful countries, where so many interesting problems await solution, and where French exploration has up to the present day held such an honourable rank.

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See also the bibliographical notes on pp. 19, 21, 26, 28, 32, 35, 36, 58, 69, 73, 168, 233, of this volume.

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(The student must, in addition to the special works on Colombia here noted, consult the general histories of America or Spanish, America, especially for the discovery, conquest, and colonial history, for which José Toribio Medina's great *Biblioteca Americana* (Santiago Chile, 1898–1907) is an indispensable guide. See also Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*,* *The Cambridge Modern History*,* and the other volumes of the SOUTH AMERICAN SERIES.*)

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